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THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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TOWARD INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

WHAT WAS SAID AND DONE

AT THE FIRST

National Interracial Conference

HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

THE COMMISSION ON THE CHURCH AND RACE RELATIONS
OF THE
FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES
AND
THE COMMISSION ON INTER-RACIAL COOPERATION

CINCINNATI, OHIO
MARCH 25-27, 1925

NEGRO UNIVERSITIES PRESS
NEW YORK

LIBRARY
CENTRAL BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
KANSAS CITY, KANSAS 66102

Originally published in 1925, Ohio

Reprinted from a copy in the collections
of the Brooklyn Public Library

Reprinted 1969 by
Negro Universities Press
A Division of Greenwood Publishing Corp.
New York

SBN 8371-2658-4

PRINTED IN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

301.451
N277

FOREWORD

This volume is unique in the literature on relations between white and Negro people of our Nation. It is not the usual report or proceedings of a conference, but the carefully sifted material from open forum discussions of more than two hundred persons about equally divided between the two races from scattered communities of nineteen states. These men and women assembled as representatives of many types of social, educational, civic, business, fraternal and religious organizations. All of them were persons with wide experience in dealing with racial and community problems in local centers. When in conference, they exchanged their information and experience on race problems that had confronted them in their communities and organizations; they recounted the methods they used to deal with those problems and the policies and principles which they had found were useful and effective. All their experience, whether successful or unsuccessful, relates to concrete situations and points to constructive ends.

Several weeks before the Conference opened those who attended were furnished with a series of questions on the topics to be discussed. These questions were designed to assist them in studying their own local problems and the facts involved in order that they might be prepared to enter fruitfully into the discussions of the Conference. As each topic came up it was in charge of a discussion committee. These committees did not attempt to restrict the discussion but only to keep it within the scope of the subject, to summarize its results and to formulate the consensus of thought disclosed, so that those who attended might carry away with them the substance of conclusions at which they had arrived. The discussions occupied nearly all the time of the Conference and were supplemented only to a limited extent by prepared addresses of persons competent to speak on the subjects.

These pages, then, bring together a body of fact, experience and reasoning that could hardly be produced in the usual methods of research, of book-writing, or of convention addresses. As far as possible the original colloquial form of the discussions has been retained. Whatever revision has been made has been largely that of eliminating irrelevant and immaterial matter, of smoothing out dic-

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tion and phrases, and of readjusting arrangement so as to make the book more readable.

In an effort to keep the material as nearly in its original form as possible, errors, doubtless apparent to the practiced eye, have resulted. The desire has been to bring to the reader the spirit as well as the letter of the Conference as far as this can be done in cold type, for inevitably the type record falls short in conveying the spirit of the Conference and in revealing the attitude of mutual approach, so evident in the meeting, to the many complex and puzzling problems which were considered.

At the end of each chapter a summary of the discussion of the topic is given. A summary of suggestions and recommendations and the list of preparatory questions sent out before the Conference have been added at the end of the book. With the reports of the discussion committees contained in each chapter, the volume thus becomes especially useful for discussion groups and college classes.

The editors have found their work a pleasant task because of its unique interest. They believe that these pages contain a substantial body of valuable material on the subjects treated; that they constitute not only a notable contribution to the general freedom of thought and the method of open discussion for arriving at a better understanding of race problems, but they are also a definite, positive step "Toward Interracial Cooperation."

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George E. Haynes, *Secretary*
Evart G. Routzahn
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W. J. Walls

New York City,
February 23, 1926.

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TOWARD INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

INTRODUCTION

THE MEANING OF THE NATIONAL INTERRACIAL CONFERENCE *

INCLUDING

A MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen: We have gathered here this evening in our first National Interracial Conference—mark you, that emphasis is made upon the word "conference." It is not a convention; it is not to be a big speaking meeting in the large sense of having a great set of speeches; it is to be a speaking meeting insomuch as subjects will be used to get over an idea and present the truth—to relate experiences and so make it possible for us to come to whatever may seem the best in the way of solution of the various problems that confront us along certain lines dealing with our interracial question.

You will notice this gathering is under the auspices of the Commission on the Church and Race Relations, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and the Commission on Interracial Coöperation. Dr. George E. Haynes is Secretary of the former with offices in New York, and Dr. W. W. Alexander, Secretary and Executive Director of the latter Interracial Commission with offices in Atlanta, Ga. The men and women invited and sent here by their respective communities have come right from the field and it is presumed they are acquainted with those phases of the question that they will present to us here.

The church of Jesus Christ in its various branches feels called upon to meet as we have met here this evening, and it is our prayer

* The opening session of the first National Interracial Conference held in the Assembly Room of the Plum Street Temple, Cincinnati, Ohio, was called to order at 7:30 P.M. Wednesday, March 25, 1925, Bishop George C. Clement, presiding.

and our hope that out of this Conference will come a new light and a great blessing to all the interests represented.

I want to say that when we come to the discussion we shall have an open forum discussion from the floor. You are all invited to take part—every one who is present. I am pleased, as well as regret, to say that three minutes will be the limit given any of you to get over any proposition which you have.

I take pleasure in presenting Dr. George E. Haynes, Secretary of the Commission on the Church and Race Relations, New York.

Dr. Haynes: The response we have had is a gratifying thing to us. The fact is, this Conference represents a combination of religious and social interests, Jewish, Protestant and some Catholic, as well as white and black.

There should be given at this opening session some statement of the meaning and reason for this Conference. This statement I am about to read is the expression from the joint committee representing the Commission on Interracial Coöperation and the Commission on the Church and Race Relations which joined hands in calling this Conference.

The first and main objective of this National Interracial Conference has been to bring together delegates and representatives from local communities in order that in conference they may exchange their experience in dealing with conditions and race relations in these communities. In no other way could they more effectively and economically pass from one to the other the results of their experience in studying their problems; in plans and programs to solve those problems and their experience in getting results.

The calling of this National Interracial Conference here this year has come as a result of a gradual development. Since 1920 local interracial conferences have been held in cities and towns north, south, east and west. There have been state conferences in a number of southern states, notably Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, North Carolina and Virginia. Some of the local interracial conferences in northern cities such as Cleveland, Toledo and Wichita, Kansas, have been preceded by surveys of local conditions and relations between white and colored groups. During the three or four years that we have been holding these local conferences there have been repeated questions and requests from different localities and from many individuals for information about the experience, plans of organization and policies in other localities.

Quite as important as the first aim of this Conference has been the growing need for more clearly defining and setting before the country the purposes of the interracial movement and the principles,

policies and methods by which white and Negro groups all over the nation, where the two races are in contact in large numbers, are trying to adjust their relations by means of conference, understanding and good will in contrast with methods of force, violence and hostile contention.

A formulation of such purposes, principles, policies and methods could not be made by an individual or a committee of individuals who might attempt to draft it, because it should summarize the varied experiences of hundreds of efforts by organizations and individuals in the localities all over the nation. These two Commissions have therefore called delegates from many communities to recount their local experience and by this means bring out in open discussion what has been discovered in the matter of purposes, principles, policies and methods.

A third need of the interracial movement is that the local communities, as well as the nation at large, should have clearly set forth the important facts about this movement. Ten years ago the idea that joint committees and boards of white and colored leaders should map out together programs of action for adjusting the relation and taking care of the interests where they come in conflict or are mutual was given little weight. Only here and there were such experiments attempted and then in a very tentative way. Today many efforts of the kind are being carried on and have been for several years.

The danger now arises that communities, organizations and individuals may lose sight of the fact that the problems consist of concrete relations of the two races in industry, in education, in church, in state, in neighborhoods and in other relations of life. The danger is that such a movement may become more or less theoretical and generalized rather than practical and localized. It is the hope of the organizations that have called this Conference that the delegates from various states and localities may take counsel together to keep this movement functioning in constructive, definite ways as in the past years.

In the fourth place, we have talked a great deal about applying the ideals of brotherhood and democracy. This Conference brings together men and women of the two races who represent the religious, social service and civic agencies that are making efforts day by day to work out these ideals in the local contacts where the interests of the two races meet and interact.

In closing this statement I have the great privilege of reading a message from one who expresses for America and Americans, the impressions that these new developments in these last years have

been making on us. Will the audience please stand while I read a letter from the President of the United States?

THE WHITE HOUSE, MARCH 21, 1925.
WASHINGTON.

My dear Mr. Haynes:

The evidences of developing public opinion in support of coöperation among the racial groups in this country is a matter of satisfaction to all who have the nation's best interests at heart. The development of interracial understanding through coöperative plans and the action of leaders of the races in local communities has contributed largely to this increasing good will. I feel that the National Interracial Conference called by the Commission on the Church and Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches, and the Commission on Interracial Coöperation to bring local leaders together, from many states, to exchange experiences and compare policies and plans, is worthy of endorsement and support by all who are interested in effective adjustment of race relations.

I send my wishes for success to the two Commissions and to this Interracial Conference.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) CALVIN COOLIDGE.

Mr. George E. Haynes, Secretary.

Chapter I

PUBLICITY AND RACE RELATIONS

Chairman: We come now to the first topic for discussion, *Publicity and Race Relations.* The chairman of the discussion committee in charge is Mr. E. G. Routzahn, Associate Director, Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation.

Mr. Routzahn: Please have in mind that some methods offer desirable publicity for the activities of Negro groups which are indirectly of value in connection with race relations, while other methods we will discuss will be considered primarily for their direct influence upon our main subject. In our discussion we will not separate the two groups of methods.

May I suggest two or three rules of the game? We have a challenge here tonight; it is possible there will be different viewpoints and varied expressions on this difficult subject of publicity, so, in a moment, I want to start on some problem or some method and we hope the men and women who speak will get up and speak on what we want to hear, without really making a speech.

One thing also; we will not worry too much about what is wrong. We all know about the wrong things; but we want to know what we are to do and how to do it; we want to get somewhere. One other word of introduction: What *is* publicity? When we talk about publicity we usually mean the newspapers. There are other ways to reach the public besides newspapers. I will not take time to refer to them now, but we will discuss them as they come along.

THE NEWSPAPERS AND RACE RELATIONS

For the first subject: What is the medium for publicity that offers the greatest possibility of reaching the largest number of people to further the betterment of race relations? I suppose you will all answer—newspapers. Is that the subject we would like to talk about first? Now will some one of you tell us your problem in relation to the newspaper?

S. Joe Brown (Des Moines, Iowa): One thing we have worked out in Des Moines which we think helps further race relations, we have secured the consent of every newspaper in our city to capitalize

the word "Negro." We consider that quite an accomplishment in a city of 150,000.

N. D. Brascher (Chicago, Ill.): A little over a year ago in Chicago we called together the publishers of the newspapers—publishers of all daily and racial newspapers. We didn't have the reporters, but the publishers and editors. We very frankly took up our various viewpoints of handling racial news. The editors of one or two papers—particularly the *Chicago Evening American*—were much impressed with what we stated about cutting out references to race. He went back to his office and gave instructions that in no criminal story should the race of the individual be used. If it was John Smith who committed a crime, that was all that would be used, and that policy has prevailed ever since. I am happy to say the inspiration for suggesting that to them came to me from Cleveland, where two papers, *The Plain Dealer* and *The Press* have carried the same rule.

Dr. H. A. Miller (Ohio State University): What about reference to the word "white" as used in Negro papers?

Mr. Brascher: The same rule should hold good there.

Dr. Miller: Suppose it refers to some commendable thing? What then?

Mr. Brascher: We would be happy to have them publish it to the world.

G. W. Thompson (Akron, Ohio): We have been on the warpath on this line for a number of years and have discovered, to my surprise, that the use of the small "n" is not so much racial discrimination as it is due to a lack of education. "Negro" is used not as the correlative of "Caucasian," but of "white." You will say it is wrong, but that is the stand taken, as I found, in the *Atlantic Monthly,* where the word "Negro" is used with the small "n." Therefore, that problem is not so much racial as it might be literary.

Mr. Routzahn: What other problem is there in connection with the newspapers? Mr. Brascher, was that effort you spoke of brought about by the Interracial Commission, or how?

Mr. Brascher: By the Civic Committee of the Appomattox Club.

Mr. Routzahn: Is there any other situation to be reported in regard to relations with the newspapers?

C. T. Greene (Pittsburg, Pa.): I would like to know how far action in regard to the word "negress" has been taken? In our city we have had a great deal of comment in the newspapers, referring to our women as "negresses," and the intelligent Negro of Pittsburg resents that very much. I would like to know if in spelling

the word "Negro" in capital letters, they have found some way of referring to our women in different terms?

Mr. Brascher: We have found in handling this particular phase of journalism we can accomplish a great deal by going to the editors themselves. That means South as well as North. We have had some wonderful results in the South; the editors are open to reason —most of them. In my experience, if you can convince them, they will not only cut out the term "negress," but in a few sections of the South, they refer to the women of our race as "Mrs." —not so many, but that will come, too. Also they will give you the preference of calling the group Afro-American, Colored, or Negro, or spelling it any way you want.

CRIME AND THE NEWSPAPERS

Bishop Clement: My attention was called some time ago, in a meeting similar to this, to a fact very discouraging to some of us present. It was that where the great dailies, especially in the South, have more and more desisted from publishing Negro crimes on the front page, great weekly Negro papers have taken advantage of that, so that they fill their papers with crimes of our people.

Chandler Owen (New York): I happen to be one who differs very materially on the question of crime. I think we should have advertising of crime in America on the front pages. I believe it is important that information about crime should be broadcast over the nation; it is well to know that murderers are at large and bank bandits infesting a city, just the same as knowing about smallpox. If they know, people become alert and inquire about efforts to suppress crime as well as disease. Since crime is nothing but a social disease, we ought to assume the same attitude as toward any other form of disease. I think the Negro and white papers should continue to publish crimes.

H. T. Steeper (Des Moines, Iowa): I am not an editor. I have almost exactly the reverse opinion from that just given. I hope the Negro papers of America will not follow the lines of feeling of my friend and use the front pages for crimes as much as they are doing. I am frank to say, the field of education, authors' clubs and other organizations of America do not want to herald crime. Does advertising it stop it? Those young men, Leopold and Loeb in Chicago, throve on the thrills they got out of reading of murders. We have to get a better diet. I wish we could get the man who lives 30 years with his wife without trouble, pays the bills and doesn't come home drunk—get him on the front page and some other stuff like that.

Mr. Routzahn: We can talk back and forth all evening on this problem, because it is like some other problems with which we are familiar. Therefore, I think we will let the crime page problem alone for the time being. Is there some other idea?

F. B. Washington (Philadelphia, Pa.): Not so long ago an editorial writer for the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* asked me for a short timely article on some phase of the race question. There was considerable unemployment among colored women, and, therefore, I gave them a little article in which I pointed out that it was unfair for white women to object to the employment of colored women in other occupations than domestic service. Colored women ought to be allowed to get the same joy out of life which comes from doing that which they want to do as white women. There had been some objection to colored women breaking a strike and I said, if that was the only way they could get economic independence, I didn't blame them. My article was not published and I was informed that the article had been set up in type and the writer who solicited it wanted to print it because it was snappy, but the editor-in-chief said it was controversial and he could not publish anything controversial. I wonder if much else of the Negro's side of the race problem is squelched "because it is controversial."

Chairman: Has any one an answer to that problem or a way to work it out? Has any one had any other experience in calling on the newspapers?

Dr. W. H. Jernagin (Washington, D. C.): My experience with some editors in Washington in matters of that kind, is that they find they have to jar the people. I think this matter comes back to the larger matter that even the church people—many of them—will not read papers unless they can get something exciting out of them. It is a money-making question with the newspapers. They said to me, if I could get the members of my own church to read the papers regularly when they didn't have those things in them, it would be an interesting experiment. They said church folks will not read a colored or white paper unless there is something exciting in it.

R. B. Eleazer (Atlanta, Ga.): I just want to say a word on what Mr. Brascher said about conferring with editors of southern papers, which I think strictly true. I have here the story of a meeting of editors of the leading papers of Virginia, who were asked to get together and discuss the viewpoints of the interracial groups. Nothing was formulated at the meeting, but afterwards on their own account they formulated a statement and signed it and gave it to us to do with as we pleased. I took that statement

throughout two or three states; every editor in New Orleans signed it and every editor in Memphis signed it and the Mississippi groups signed it—practically all the North and South Carolina groups signed it, and it seems to be representative of the attitude of the editors throughout that section. I do not know of anything better that you can do than bring your viewpoint to the attention of the editors, and make them see what you have in mind.

Dr. Alexander: In one place, I have a man who sells advertising to the newspapers and he is constantly on guard. Whenever they seem to be violating good taste, this man, who spends a good deal of money advertising, calls their attention to it. In two other places, two college professors have as their job to watch the editors constantly. It takes a great deal of patience and a great deal of time to change the habits of newspapers. If we use our imagination a little as to how newspapers are made up, you will realize one visit alone will not do much.

Dr. Haynes: Is there any delegate from St. Louis?

Miss Bertha B. Howell (St. Louis, Mo.): Not long ago we consulted the editors of denominational papers. We were inclined to agree with them that we should give editors positive material on the outstanding achievements of the leaders of the colored people, and that is better publicity than simply suppressing the undesirable material. The positive effort is more important, but the difficulty of securing that material was the thing we have been up against. All these denominational papers want is good material. Local material is not sufficient. We really ought to have a national clearing house for such material in order to make it effective.

Dr. Haynes: We have been working on that problem of a national clearing house, but we are limited by the limitations of our purse. If you will help us find the people who have the money, Mr. Eleazer is quite ready and has quite a bit of machinery ready to put that in motion. Our recent experiences with religious papers is that they get a great deal of stuff, more than they use, and the daily press uses material of the same kind more readily than the religious papers.

Rev. J. W. Robinson (Clarksburg, W. Va.): We had an experience not long ago with one of our newspapers in Clarksburg. Our church gave a contest and I sent an account of it to one of our daily papers. The program of the contest and announcement came out very nicely with nice headlines. But, in the evening paper on the evening the contest was to be, another paper published a paragraph headed, "Such and such given by pickaninnies"—referring to them as "babies and pickaninnies." My people didn't like that.

Of course, I went to see the editor the next morning. He informed me that was put in without his noticing it until after it was done. However, he made an apology for having permitted it to come out in his paper. That shows, if we go to them properly, we will get over our point of view.

Dr. H. A. Miller (Columbus, Ohio): Why do you expect this editor to take a coöperative view? Just on a humanitarian basis? I think, as long as prejudice prevails, you cannot expect so much, but, if you have a large number of readers of a certain paper or advertisers are giving something to that paper, you have a definite impression to bring to the papers. Yesterday I went to one of the editors of a Columbus paper on interracial matters and it was brought out that his paper was one quite largely read by colored people. His attitude was very coöperative. That ought not be left out of the discussion.

Dr. Alexander: One of the editors said to me, "Mr. Alexander, although we do not publish your stuff, the fact that you are sending the stuff with your viewpoint, gives us a new idea. Your material has good in it." So, although we do not get it in the columns all the time, we are talking to the editors and little by little there is a change in the attitude of the newspapers, making it better.

RACE RELATIONS PUBLICITY THROUGH THE CHURCHES

Mr. Routzahn: That is very good. We should learn more how to be liberal. What is the next avenue we should take up? We have an idea that the church is the thing that touches many of us. How many here had a program on Race Relations Sunday?

There is a plan and program that was offered by the Federal Council of Churches for us on that Sunday. That is available now and there will be a new one for 1926, if you wish to work up a Race Relations Sunday. What else have you to suggest in relation to using your churches to spread the idea for better race relations?

Dr. Alexander: One Sunday when we were starting to go for a drive after Sunday School, my boy said, "I don't want to go home today; I want to stay at the church." I said, "What possesses you? Why do you want to stay in church? You never did before." He said, "I don't want to stay in church, I want to go downstairs where they are telling stories out of the Peanut book." They happened to have a story book about Negroes who have achieved; it is called "Handicapped Winners." The book is covered with designs of peanuts. They are gathering the children together and telling them stories of Negroes who are "handicapped winners."

Mr. Routzahn: We have an announcement from a Wisconsin minister who devoted two Sundays to something on the American Negro's problems and his possibilities. On one evening a sermon was delivered and on the other an entertainment given—an evening in Dixie with music and reading. He has a list of a dozen books which he brings to the attention of his congregation, with which we should all be familiar. Are there any other suggestions about churches?

G. R. Arthur (Chicago, Ill.): The Church Federation of Chicago started a series of studies of some of our difficulties. Dr. Haynes' book was studied. They brought into the classes a lot of white and colored men of the city who discussed the problems as they came up.

Dr. B. F. McWilliams (Toledo, Ohio): Six months ago, a member of our Interracial Committee proposed that we write a letter to the pastors of the churches in the city, suggesting the interchange of pulpits between white and colored ministers, and named five ministers in particular with whom it might be profitable to make this exchange.

Thereupon, five of us were invited to exchange pulpits in the city and three of us responded to that call, I being one of the three. I exchanged pulpits with Dr. A. A. Stockdale, First Congregational Church in that city, and I received thirteen letters of commendation after that service. From that day up to this, I, and others of our committee, have been invited to speak on several occasions, and groups of our people have been asked to serve. We have given programs from time to time in the different churches of the city.

G. W. Thompson (Akron, Ohio): We have done practically the same thing as in Toledo.

S. A. Allen (Boston, Mass.): The Boston Federation of Churches has arranged for five colored men to speak over the radio on various questions.

S. Joe Brown: I want to say the same thing.

A. H. Martin (Cleveland, Ohio): The Federated Churches of Cleveland have adopted the plan of sending out white and colored speakers throughout the city from time to time in order to cultivate the habit among the colored churches of receiving contact and instructions from the white ministers. Many white churches do the same with colored speakers. We think it is having a fine reaction.

Mr. Routzahn: Here are a few suggestions as to other forms of publicity: Dialogues, tableaux, monologues can be used—something which would present an idea in a new way. Why not give at the women's clubs readings from some of the colored writers? Have

contests and story telling and story reading. So many libraries have story-telling hours and there is plenty of material which could be used for these. Pageants also, such as *Milestones* as given in Wichita, are excellent.

Dr. E. N. Oxley (Cincinnati, Ohio): We have dramatics in our own church, as our church has looked upon this question seriously. We have a department of dramatics in connection with our settlement school of music. We work for all the boys and girls in this community—from any section of the city. Last summer, we gave *Joseph in Egypt,* with an Oriental background—with people from each colored church. We think it a definite contribution toward the cultural education and the life of the city.

Rev. Clayton B. Wells (Wichita, Kan.): The race pageant *Milestones* was a very marvelous performance—the biggest thing Wichita ever has had, and we expect great things to come as the result of the pageant. One of the finest things in connection with it was Miss Crogman's appearance in sundry places addressing the audiences. One of the greatest achievements was the conquest of the intermediate and high school grades. It went up against a pretty stiff prejudice. We think great things will come of her pageant.

Chairman: We shall now have the address of Mr. Arthur E. Hungerford, Publicity Director, Federal Council of Churches, on *Publicity and Race Relations.*

Mr. Hungerford then spoke in part as follows:

Publicity is a two-edged sword, cutting both ways. Doing great good if properly used, it creates havoc when used by the inexperienced or when the cause for which it is exerted is unsound. Publicity is a comparatively new form of education. But it must not be confused with theatrical press agent stunts or with one-sided propaganda.

By publicity is meant the presentation of facts. They may be dramatized a bit. They may be given simply, but in whatever form they are presented, they must make men think; not necessarily the way we think, but so that they use their brains to make a decision in view of the facts.

In creation of interracial good will, publicity should and will have a great part. This is especially true in relation to the daily press. Much of the reduction in the lynching evil has been brought about through the creation of public opinion against mob murder by the daily press—particularly in the South.

Many of us find fault with the press—some for its headlines, some for its treatment of crime, some for its apparent lack of interest and coöperation in the things in which we are vitally interested and which seem to us to be of the utmost importance to the community, to the Nation or to the world. For a good many things for which we condemn the press, we ourselves are to blame. All of us are interested in racial relations, and yet how many of us have ever tried to tell the managing editor or the city editor of our local papers about the matter? Have we ever given the reporter who tried to get a story a fair chance to secure it correctly?

Let us for a moment go back of the impersonal press—to the men who control it—the editors and the reporters. No pastor, no social worker, clings

more faithfully to his conception of right and wrong than reporter and editor hold to the ethics of the press. The reporter and the editor, with but few exceptions, have as their ideal the presentation of news as they see it—honestly and fearlessly. To my mind there is less danger from the papers that print too much news than from those that suppress news—for one reason or another.

Most papers are intellectually honest and print the news as its staff sees it. They want to be fair, they want to be honest, they want to help good causes, to work for goodwill. The fearless, honest newspaper, even when mistaken, is an asset to a community. Now, sometimes papers do not help race relations and other good movements of the utmost importance because we who are interested do not take them into our confidence. We do not take the trouble to tell the editors and reporters of their significance. Oftimes we think the paper is hostile in its treatment of racial news when it is merely that the paper is following a custom or that the editor has not thought about the matter.

Let every one who is vitally interested in creating goodwill and understanding between the white and colored peoples help his local paper realize their importance. We do not take pains enough to help the Press. Frequently, we have a big meeting or do an important piece of work and think of everything but the local paper and what its help would mean to us. Call on the editor and city editor and ask their coöperation in giving the news of not only what you are doing but also of the way they handle the news of the many things that enter into race relations in the community. Write to them from time to time.

Do not expect them to editorialize their news columns. Papers will undoubtedly from time to time express editorial views on the matter, but the chief value of the press is to tell the news of what is being done, of the hopes and ideals concerning race relations and of its handling of articles that may create ill will because of lack of care. Now, we cannot expect the papers to give news space unless our work is vital, unless we are accomplishing something. News space is strictly limited. The daily paper has to cover the doings of the world every twenty-four hours. Every day it throws away many times more news than goes into the columns.

When a reporter is assigned to cover a meeting or special work, take time to help him get what he wants in his way. We must go into details if he desires and give him the information, if possible, when he wants it. Our meeting or work may be but one of a half dozen assignments for the evening. Many times a reporter is asked by a busy executive, in the press of work, to come later; but many things may keep him from coming back. By failing to respond to the needs of the papers, we lose more news space than we imagine.

Advance copy of addresses and news are always welcome. Unfortunately, many of us in our advance material leave out the best news from the editor's point of view. We acquire the art of giving the news facts only with practice. All newspapers face mechanical difficulties. The various pages of the paper are locked on a scheduled time. The different editions must go to press on the minute. Delay means a missing of trains and mails and the disappointment of thousands of readers. So the paper must go to press on time, even if your story or my story of the utmost importance is left out because we are a few minutes late. One advantage of giving news material to papers promptly is that frequently it gets on an "early page" which is locked up, not to be disturbed again and so the story as it is called goes through all editions.

Our particular story or article must compete against the world for space. Race relations are news when properly presented. All efforts to bring about goodwill between various races and national groups in this country are real news. Do not confuse news, however, with propaganda. Views or facts about race relations, at times may not be news, but if made in a statement by a man whose judgment is recognized in the community and who stands for what is best, or by a reputable organization, it becomes news.

A great field is open in the matter of education or news publicity in race relations. The Japanese question has focused light upon the dealings of the white and yellow races. The migration of the Negro to the North and West has given added interest in the doings of the white and colored peoples. Because of such things and because an increasing number of persons are interested in creating good will and fair play, race relations have a greater news value than ever before.

A curious cycle is this thing of news and educational publicity. A small group interested in a piece of vital work takes some action which creates news. The publication of their activities creates wider interest, and a wider circle of workers. This in turn adds to the news value of the movement, and so it spreads until the idea has become generally accepted and the need for aggressive work disappears, then it is no longer news. The element of fight or achievement is what makes news. Prohibition is still news because an aggressive minority has prevented real prohibition. Once we have real prohibition with the law enforced so it is impossible for any one to obtain alcoholic liquors, the public, even the irreconcilables, will regard the matter as settled and it will no longer be news. News is simply that which interests the greatest number of readers.

Publicity has its place in creating good race relations. Like the genii in the bottle, its aid is not to be lightly revoked. Guard it cautiously. Use it wisely. Publicity is a precious gem of great worth. It must be honest to be preserved. The searchlight of publicity, while it helps show the way, also reveals imperfections and faults. This also is valuable, but most of us do not realize it at that painful time when our mistakes are exposed.

We must not expect publicity to solve all problems or to take the place of hard work. We would not expect advertising to make money for a store that did not have the article advertised for sale. Nor can we expect publicity, or the mere publication of our views or beliefs, to remedy conditions.

Let us recognize the value of publicity, the ethics and ideals of newspaper men, and the fact that we must play our part. Let us recognize that it is possible that sometime we may be mistaken and allow others to differ from us. Many great causes have been lost because those interested believed that they alone possessed wisdom, and that their plans to the most minute detail had to be accepted absolutely. Above all things, let us seek to present the facts so that the other fellow may think and then make his decision—whether it is our way or not. We must realize that as a rule when the public has the facts, it acts rightly and justly.

Chairman: Mr. Brascher will give the first part of the report of our Discussion Committee on Publicity.

Mr. Brascher made the following report:

REPORT OF DISCUSSION COMMITTEE ON PUBLICITY

There are four points that I will bring out—three of them have been discussed already, and one is a mere suggestion I want to lay before you in order that you may react upon it.

The first point brought out by Dr. Alexander, Director Commission on Interracial Coöperation, Atlanta, Georgia, is with reference to the repeated visits to the editors, to getting their attitude to be a little more cordial. He says he finds people go to the editor once and if they are not able to persuade him, that they don't go back again. The same thing holds true with visiting the editors with regard to changing their policies. Sometimes they are changed or will change their policy to get rid of you, but other times you must keep at them.

On the subject of letters to editors, Mr. Forrester B. Washington of

Philadelphia brought out a fine point. There could be a great campaign on sending letters to editors. I know it is the policy of the *Chicago Tribune* to be guided very largely by the comments they get from subscribers or readers on a given subject. That is true of almost every publication.

Another phase of the subject of publicity is pictures. We have moving pictures and still pictures. Night before last in Carnegie Hall, New York, there was a fine demonstration of the practicability of moving pictures in bringing to the people of the white group knowledge of what Negroes are doing. Some four thousand people in a great gathering were greatly impressed by what they saw going on in Tuskegee and other sections of the South. You can tell many things through pictures; pictures are the universal language.

We discussed in our committee today and with some friends who are delegates and visitors, the subject of a publicity foundation. We have all sorts of foundations and it occurred to us that it might be suggested to you and you could think it over. The plan coming to our minds was a foundation, properly financed, that would be a clearing house for general publicity, one in which the various organizations, North and South, interested in the racial adjustments, would have some share in directing.

R. B. Eleazer (Member of the Discussion Committee): We have no further report, except a few other lines in publicity which we have found effective in working with college groups. One of the most effective things we have been able to do in the South has been to send colored speakers around—men like Dr. Fisher of Fisk University and Dr. Carver of Tuskegee—through the southern colleges to speak to white student groups. The transformation in the viewpoint has been remarkable in many cases. They have been introduced to an entirely new type of colored people, who give them a new conception of the capabilities of colored people.

Then we have classes as a part of the curriculum in southern universities. We have also organizations of interracial student groups, where white and colored students sit down from week to week or month to month and discuss viewpoints. As an illustration, we had a question on the higher education of the Negro raised by one student and another said he didn't believe in it; that it was a mistake. The group said, "Very well, where are your facts; bring them in on paper and we will get colored students to bring in papers telling why they should have it." At the next meeting, the white man said he had no paper. He said, "When I began to study it out and place my facts, I had no grounds to stand on; my viewpoint is entirely changed."

Sending colored singers through the colleges has been effective. We have plans formulated for the organization in every woman's society, in some 8 or 10 denominations, of interracial committees and a program of study for those committees, including a personal investigation of the conditions in the Negro homes and churches. There is need of certain courses in our public schools. We think,

beginning with the grammar school, there is need of the introduction of a history course dealing with the part the Negro has played in American history, and an appreciation of what the Negro has contributed to the development of the country.

And then the effort to reach the teachers. We think a great deal of race bitterness begins in the small children. Teachers could teach the right racial attitude, and if so, we could get rid of the trouble right at the very root.

We think of having more concerts—of having more artists like Roland Hayes. More Negro music and the dramatic character development of the Negro would be tremendously effective. Special historical occurrences may be used as story material to be sent to the papers in your community.

Mr. Brascher: I want to add this one statement that we do not want to forget the fact that what Mr. Eleazer has spoken of are conditions that are now obtained in the South. I am certain there is much that can be done for awakening the North in the matter of publicity in race relations.

DISCUSSION OF REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLICITY

Chairman: We cannot go into details and discuss all the things suggested, but might take a minute or two for any questions.

Dr. Haynes: I want to call attention to the fact that Mr. Eleazer mentioned something about the contact of the student groups. We have here a delegation of students. A student from Vanderbilt is here who can tell of the actual operations of the colored and white groups in the South.

Ernest L. Ackley (Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.): The Nashville Student Forum, after making a rather superficial study of things in Nashville, published a report, and financed sending it to all the Protestant ministers, to editors of papers, and to heads of the civic clubs of Nashville. The report contains not only a statement of facts and conditions in Nashville and the needs, but also a list of ten books we thought should be read on the subject. Although we do not know that any great amount of difference has been made by the report, yet we have received some very interesting replies from people in the city who have felt it was worth while.

Mr. Routzahn: Where can that report be secured?

Mr. Ackley: From me, any time by mail. I have a few copies of the report with me to which you are welcome while they last.

Mr. Routzahn: How about classes for studying interracial problems? Where can I get a course of study for those classes?

Mr. Eleazer: One has just come from the press. Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr., who is here, prepared it at the request of the teachers of a good many of the courses in southern schools. It is called *The Basis of Racial Adjustment.*

Dr. Haynes: The Missionary Education Movement, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, is doing more in the publication of literature than any one that I know. This agency is the official delegate body of practically all the Home and Foreign Missionary Societies of all the Protestant churches in America. It has published in two succeeding years three study courses each year. They published them in editions of from ten to fifty thousand.

Mr. Routzahn: Here is a question in the minds of most of us: Where can we write for or where can we read about the new things coming out?

Dr. Haynes: Write either the Commission on the Church and Race Relations or the Commission on Interracial Coöperation. We usually give the reviews of all books that are worth while in this field in the *Information Service* of the Federal Council of Churches. The *Information Service* goes out weekly and costs $2.00 a year. There are seven special race relations numbers a year.

Mr. Routzahn: What I want us to get in the habit of doing is this: When we are not sure of our information, let us write Atlanta or New York. The more questions we ask them, the oftener they will write; and the more insistent we are in getting what we want, the more likely it will be they will give us what we want.

There is another thing I want to bring up and that is community participation. It is not possible in some places, but in some places it is. Suppose there is an exposition or a celebration—centennial or fête—is there a chance for the Negro to be represented? Is there a chance in an exposition or fair for him to show the products of Negro skill? Four of the state fairs in the South, for the first time this year included exhibits from Negro agricultural schools. In one fair they put in a tent, all handled by Negroes, and that proved to be the most interesting point in the fair. As a result of that experience, Memphis will probably build a colored building next year, a colored building connected with the fair.

Mr. Washington: There will be the Sesquicentennial in Philadelphia next year, and we want to start preparing for it. I am inviting this Conference to come there next year. We will have a Negro exhibit that we already have in preparation. A Negro architect is designing it.

Mr. Routzahn: Another thing: When the Governor or some other distinguished person comes to town, try to get them to come

to your settlement or to some other center of Negro activity. Watch for the visitors. One thing about distribution. When you get out your annual report or anything in connection with your work, be sure that certain people and institutions get it. Negro papers should be in historical libraries. I don't know if that will help race relations much, but we don't want to miss a chance. Let the Governor get a copy of your annual report. Make a careful study of the community in order to make sure that every one who might be useful gets your material; also see that libraries and reading rooms receive it. Get your local public library to have a display of books on the subject for general reading and special studies, books by Negroes and about Negroes.

Rev. P. C. Childs (Erie, Pa.): We have succeeded in getting into the public library several books—the *Negro Year Book* and some others.

Mr. Routzahn: How are we to do all this? First of all, let us pick out one thing we have heard tonight and then get two or three people together and decide how to work it out. It may take a week or it may take six months, but let us make a good job of it. Don't let us think we must do all the things or we never will do anything. We ought to have a list of local organizations and clubs and lodges, begin to study out what we are going to do, and go after them. Along with that should be a list of the useful people; people who are interested or people who are influential or who may speak helpfully and favorably; people who meet the right people who might lend you things; people who might help you in getting up displays. I am going to my seat, but I just want to say we haven't begun to talk about what you can do through publicity.

Mr. Brascher: I was about to suggest that as a member of the Discussion Committee, as far as I am concerned, I am willing to take home the last words of our Chairman to the effect that the things you have heard here tonight you will put into practice. As a matter of fact, publicity in any development of race adjustment is, you may say, 95% of that development. In other words, John Wanamaker said at one time, if he had one hundred dollars and was going into business he would put $95.00 in publicity and the other $5.00 in stock. The publicity man of any organization has the entrée to all the high moguls; he is the man who knows the psychology, and that is as true in race relations as in any other field. I feel you have benefited by what we have brought to you, and that we thank Mr. Routzahn for the fine manner in which he has handled this publicity program tonight.

SUMMARY OF THE DISCUSSION ON

I. PUBLICITY AND RACE RELATIONS *

A. Problems and Difficulties

1. Difficulty of obtaining publicity space for favorable Negro matters.
2. Negro "news" almost all of an unfavorable character; over stress on crimes whose Negro origin is emphasized; general write-ups of a sort to arouse amusement, ridicule or hostility.

B. Evidence of Progress

1. Newspapers changing attitude in some instances.
   (a) Special designation of Negro crimes cut out by *Chicago American, Cleveland Press* and *Cleveland Plain Dealer.*
   (b) The word "Negro" always capitalized by Des Moines papers.
   (c) Negro affairs given more attention by some papers.
2. Movies are educating general public to a knowledge of Negro accomplishments. (Tuskegee in action, etc.)
3. Negro radio programs are being given and well received.
   Ohio State University has given Negro student programs.
   Boston reports broadcasting by several colored men.
4. Negro speakers and singers through the colleges and before the general public favorably received and Roland Hayes has done much to win white consideration for his race.
5. Study groups, sometimes of mixed attendance, are valuable publicity channels.
   Chicago Church Federation series estimates a mixed attendance of 300,000. Eight or ten denominations report interracial study in progress in their women's societies.
6. Church publicity. Sermons and materials upon the Negro and his contribution.
   Interchange of pulpits between whites and Negroes reported from various cities: Detroit, Toledo, Akron and Cincinnati. One white pastor received thirteen letters of approval following a Negro preacher in his pulpit.
7. Public libraries and other information centers prepare lists of Negro books and materials.
8. Expositions and exhibits are including Negro representation.
   Chicago had a Negro Exposition several years ago.
   Memphis has a building for colored exhibits at its fair ground.
9. Distinguished visitors when in the city should be shown Negro work, centers, etc., as well as white.

* Made by Professor Earle Edward Eubank, Department of Sociology, University of Cincinnati.

Chapter II

HEALTH AND RACE RELATIONS *

Dr. George E. Haynes: The presiding officer this morning, as you will see by your program, is Miss M. Edith Campbell, Director of the Vocational Bureau, Department of Education, Cincinnati, and the meeting is now in her hands.

Miss M. Edith Campbell: It is unnecessary to say what a great privilege it is to have a part in this very interesting and most unusual conference, and I am most happy to have this share in the work going on in Cincinnati this week. It is unnecessary to tell you, also, as one Cincinnatian, how very glad we are to have you here and what a great privilege we consider it to have Cincinnati selected for this conference. Is Rev. Dr. Williams here? (Prayer by Dr. W. H. Williams.)

We will now proceed to the discussion of our topic on *Health and Race Relations.* We will first have the Open Forum Discussion. Mr. Franklin O. Nichols, Associate Educational Director of the American Social Hygiene Association, Chairman of the Discussion Committee, will introduce the topic and then we will proceed with the open forum discussion.

Mr. Franklin O. Nichols: I think that the delegates know pretty well the method of procedure, which is this: that if there are any problems that the delegates have back in their communities, they are to present those problems here for discussion and for consideration. I want you to feel free in asking any questions or presenting anything that you may wish to have discussed. I am going to ask you to do it immediately so the Discussion Committee may have sufficient time to analyze those questions and to analyze the discussion and give you the benefit of our experience in dealing with such matters.

Miss Campbell: We are now ready to hear from any one from the floor who cares to ask questions or to take part in the discussion of the question on the relation of *Health and Race Relations.*

COLORED PEOPLE AND HEALTH FACILITIES

J. H. Chase (Youngstown, Ohio): We have baby clinics at Youngstown, taking care of both white and colored children, and

* Session: Thursday, March 26, 1925, 9 A.M. Miss M. Edith Campbell, Cincinnati, O., presiding.

I think we have been quite successful in reducing the number of infant deaths.

Miss Constance Fisher (Cleveland, Ohio): In Cleveland we have a number of tuberculosis clinics for the care of those who are tubercular. In one of those districts where there is much congestion we have a special one to take care of the extra number of colored children and also a diagnostic clinic to take care of nervous diseases; and all the clinics of the city and the hospitals are open to colored and white.

Mr. Nichols: May I suggest in this discussion that we not only get reports as to the things that they are doing in those communities but the kind of problems, interracial problems, that they might have in connection with these facilities.

Mr. Childs: We have a tuberculosis society to handle our tuberculosis cases. It is working along that line and handling these cases very well. We have baby clinics and also clinics for white and colored alike.

Miss Campbell: Have you any particular problems there in the handling of that?

Mr. Childs: It seems to me they are working out very nicely now,

Dr. Jernagin: I want to say that at Washington we have the Tuberculosis Hospital that looks after all of our cases of both races, and also a Children's Hospital.

N. B. Allen (Columbus, Ohio): I want to read a report concerning the death rate in the state of Ohio just recently gotten out. It is from the *Columbus Citizen,* a daily paper of Columbus: *

"A colored man has thirty-four chances to be murdered to a white man's one. He has a five-to-one better (or worse) chance than the white man to live at all. And a colored baby has only one-third as good a chance as a white baby to live through infancy.

These revelations of excessive mortality among Negroes are contained in a report issued by I. R. Plummer, State Registrar of Vital Statistics.

Among an estimated Negro population of 231,151 in Ohio, 4,786 deaths were reported in one year. The Negro death rate was 23.3 per thousand compared to a white death rate of only 11.8.

Out of each 100,000 Negroes, 350 died from tuberculosis compared to 76 among an equal number of whites.

Victims of homicide were 85 per 100,000 among the Negroes and 2½ among the whites.

Among each 100,000 Negroes 163 died in infancy compared to 61 baby deaths among the whites.

A discouraging revelation is that while the Negro population increased only 8% in three years, the death rate increased 30%."

The problem is getting the people, our people, to use these various health facilities, and possibly some of us have had larger experience

* *Columbus Citizen,* March 18, 1925.

than some of the rest of us in getting the colored people to use these various facilities.

Miss Campbell: That is a very important point.

Rev. G. M. Plaskett (Orange, N. J.): I want to ask about the reports from Ohio: Do Negro physicians have clinical facilities and hospital facilities; that is, do Negro physicians have the right to clinical facilities the same as white physicians?

Miss Campbell: Dr. Peters, can you answer that from Cincinnati?

Dr. W. H. Peters, Health Commissioner (Cincinnati, O.): I am going to answer that in my paper.

Mr. Washington: A lot of us do not realize that the Negro newcomer from some points of view, has the same difficulty as the foreign-born immigrant has. The Negro migrant does not know much about the complex institutions of the big city. He has to be introduced to them just as the foreign-born immigrant. We meet that situation in Philadelphia in this way: The Armstrong Association has four women who go about ringing door bells in the districts of the city where the Negro newcomers live, forming neighborhood groups, and to these groups we bring representatives of the health clinics, the hospitals, the night schools, the settlements and the like, who tell the newcomers about the agencies and help them make the contact. If you want to get these people acquainted with the institutions of the city, you have got to do extension work among them.

Mrs. H. A. Hunt (Ft. Valley, Ga.): Down in Georgia, where the colored people outnumber the whites three and four to one, we have a public health nurse. She is the only public health nurse in that county; I might also say in half a dozen or more counties around us. We have three clinics every year and we are getting results from these clinics. The people out on the big plantations and in the big peach orchards are learning what germs are and that they do not have to be sick; they are learning how to take care of their tubercular patients.

Mr. Nichols: I wish Mrs. Hunt would tell how they support that nurse.

Mrs. Hunt: We tried very hard to get the Board of Health active in this because we have there one member of the State Board, but we have not done very much along that line. We do not get any help from the whites, only in the cases of giving a little medicine and bandages, things of that kind, and we have to go to the North and everywhere we can to get the support for this nurse. The Circle for Negro Relief has helped us for several years and is helping us again this year.

Mrs. W. H. Fouse (Lexington, Ky.): In Lexington we have a baby clinic. Our colored children are permitted to have the advantages of the clinic. We have also clinics for venereal diseases. We have interested one or two teachers' associations and churches for supplying milk for the underfed in the different schools. We have a county nurse, a city nurse and a school nurse, and the city physician. Our hospitals are open to our physicians of the city to treat their patients and for operations. Aside from that we have access to the sanatorium in the city. Only one thing—we have no ward for colored children. We have one for white children and they have promised us one for colored children.

Miss Campbell: Mr. Nichols' personal question was: Have you any peculiar race problems that are keeping that scheme from working?

Mrs. Fouse: It is working very well now. We have no ward for colored children but we are going to have that real soon.

Mr. Nichols: Did I understand the lady to say that the colored physicians are given an opportunity to practice surgery in the hospital at Lexington, Ky.?

Mrs. Fouse: Yes, sir.

Miss Josephine A. Groves (Nashville, Tenn.): I want to say that we are making a special fight in Nashville against tuberculosis and we have a tuberculosis hospital where both colored and white are treated alike and also have a public health board which is doing work along this line. We have just opened a tuberculosis clinic and have a public health nurse who is stationed there, and also a nurse from the Ohio Medical College to come down and help. We have clinics in each section of the city and one baby clinic is held every week. This is held at the Bethlehem Community Center. It is just for Negro children. We have a white nurse and a colored physician. It is supported partly by the public at large and partly by the churches. It was for a while in the Community Chest but because of the claim that it was a denominational affair it was taken out of the Community Chest. Of course, it is not denominational, but it was taken out of the Community Chest. We hope to get it back again. But the infant death rate in the last two years has been decreased about 25%. As to social diseases, there are four clinics. Each of these clinics is in charge of a practicing physician and students come there and take charge of the work.

Miss Thyra J. Edwards (Gary, Ind.): I am Juvenile Probation Officer for Lake County, Ind. We have worked out this feature in rather an interesting way. The schools have their school nurses who are supported by the Board of Education. These nurses make regular and consistent examination of the children. Children

who are found to be tubercular are taken to the Tuberculosis Clinic. We have a tuberculosis clinic that is conducted about once every three months; we have a county nurse who visits in the County, but the tuberculosis clinic nurse visits the children and makes a report to the parent and the parent keeps up with the examinations.

We have had some difficulty about a tuberculosis sanitarium for Negroes. There are only one or two in the state and we can never get more than one or two beds at a time; but we are meeting that problem by building our own sanitarium.

Mr. Plaskett: Up in Orange we have the same facilities for white and black. Colored physicians look after these children, too, as well as white physicians. Have they in Gary a chance to study the children, too, as well as white physicians?

Miss Edwards: They are free to bring their children in. We have a state children's physician who came down and held clinics at the white settlement house first and then the colored. In the schools we have dental clinics and the colored physicians take alternate days to study the mouths of the children, but they rarely have that at the tuberculosis clinic with the white physicians.

PUBLIC SUPPORT OF HEALTH FACILITIES

E. Franklin Frazier (Atlanta, Ga.): There are two questions which I wish to put before the meeting. The first one is: What are the health facilities in these communities? The second and more pertinent question: To what extent are colored people allowed to use these health facilities, and what is the best method of making it possible for colored people to use these health facilities? I have in mind in the state of Georgia, Mr. Rosenwald has promised $5,000 for the Welfare Department if they would raise $5,000. I was talking to a man in Chicago a few days ago who told me that he had resigned from any activity in helping to raise the $5,000 to match Mr. Rosenwald's gift. According to this man he thought it was the wrong step to take for the people to raise money by voluntary contribution to match a gift from Mr. Rosenwald. Then I raised the question: Well, perhaps the head of the Welfare Department of Georgia thinks that by demonstrating the utility of developing a state welfare department program to benefit the colored people the state will finally take it over. I would like to hear some expressions as to, first, how to get the white people to include colored people in their welfare programs and allow them to use the facilities; whether that was a good way, or whether we should use some other method. In Atlanta a colored physician was

placed on the Tuberculosis Staff. He resigned because he was tired of being treated as a piece of furniture; they ignored him entirely.

Mr. Arthur: A question for the Committee: How best to encourage the national, state, county and city officials to appropriate enough money in southern cities and states to employ general health officers, visiting nurses, establish infant welfare station, health institutes in general, and to add, whenever possible, colored men and women to the staff of those organizations.

SEGREGATION IN HEALTH FACILITIES

Mr. Plaskett: Facilities in New Jersey are used by blacks and whites up to adults. But I asked a Negro physician and a white physician what was to be the remedy for tuberculosis in that locality, and both agreed it was by the use of the facilities, and until the Negro and the white physicians work together in the handling of the cases there will be no real improvement.

S. A. Allen: Is it true that colored people have the privilege of using the convalescent home in New Jersey?

Mr. Plaskett: Yes, the State Convalescent Home is used by them in Northern New Jersey.

Miss Howell: In one of our baby clinics we have had an interesting problem come up. The physician in charge happens to be a man interested in race relations and has prided himself on the fact that there has never been any trouble arising from the fact that the clinic is a mixed clinic. They found that they have not had many of the Negro migrants in his clinics and they were not getting as many colored babies as they should get. So they tried the experiment of having separate clinics for colored and white, and found the colored babies were coming in in larger numbers. He is dubious as to whether or not he is sacrificing an important principle in doing that. He is establishing segregation in order to save the babies.

Miss Campbell: I would like to ask if they think that having that separation does help to get over that problem of the Negroes using those facilities?

Miss Howell: It did in this case.

Miss Campbell: I found that they will use the white physicians and the white clinic sometimes.

Mr. Robinson: We have in West Virginia a colored superintendent and we also have two colored women employed by the Health Department of our state. One of them is partially paid by the Federal government. They are doing very excellent work. Also in some of our larger cities, Charleston and some other places, we have

a Negro who is an assistant health officer of the city, who has been looking after the colored children.

Miss Campbell: He is in the Health Department and paid by the City?

Mr. Robinson: Paid by the Board of Education. These and other health workers are paid by the state, partially paid by the U. S. Government. In the city of Clarksburg we have a baby clinic in connection with our public schools. Also they recently passed a law whereby the county may have a special levy for the purpose of having a health department. It is understood that where the Negro population is sufficiently large there will be an assistant who shall be colored.

G. W. Thompson: In northern communities where clinics are supported by local municipalities, would it be advantageous to the development of proper racial relations to establish separate clinics where they have been used by both groups simply because Negroes do not attend the regular clinics?

Sully Johnson (Youngstown, Ohio): I would like to ask the lady from Lexington, is it true that they have special clinics for dentists; have they colored physicians who practice with the white physicians?

Mrs. Fouse: Yes. The dentist takes each day the children who are in line, and the children who come first are the ones taken. We are right there where we can see them, and as it is their turn they go in and are observed by the physician in charge for that day.

Mr. Johnson: I want to know if at the same time you have colored physicians practice with the white physicians?

Mrs. Fouse: Not in that particular clinic.

Mr. Johnson: In Youngstown we have a baby clinic that meets once a week. We did at the time have one white and one colored physician to examine the babies. Owing to the increase in the colored physicians' work, we had to give it up, so we simply have white, but we have principally colored babies.

Professor M. N. Work (Editor of the *Negro Year Book,* Tuskegee, Ala.): There have been some important questions raised. The gentleman from New Jersey has raised a very important question of the Negro physician getting an opportunity to use the hospital facilities the same as the white physician. That is a very important thing, and it seems to me it is really a question for this organization to take up and see that that is further extended.

Then Mr. Frazier raised some important questions, also. I want to answer one of those: The question about making a demonstration in order to get a state department of health. We did this at Tuskegee Institute. We wanted a state health nurse for colored

people. Tuskegee Institute paid that nurse's salary until the demonstration was made, and the State Health Department then took over the salary of the nurse, and the salary of that nurse is now paid from the Smith-Towner Fund. We ought to get more assistance from that Smith-Towner Fund in the matter of paying nurses to work among colored people.

Miss Fisher: Just recently the Anti-Tuberculosis League, in cooperation with the Negro Welfare Association of Cleveland, put on a health institute for a week. They had night and afternoon classes which were very educational. I think the Associated Charities put forth a special effort to coöperate with the Anti-Tuberculosis League and the Negro Welfare Association in this health institute by sending to the classes those women with whom it had contact—Negro newcomers into the city who did not know where to go for health and surgical facilities. Quite a number of these were given free scholarship blanks to attend these health meetings and they learned how to care for themselves in general cases.

Jesse O. Thomas (Atlanta, Ga.): I want to ask Miss Howell of St. Louis if a segregated clinic, or rather a clinic for Negroes as such, has the same physicians and the same nurses as the whites in the mixed clinics

Miss Howell: Yes, they just have different days for Negro patients. The city established different days as an experiment. It has only been going a few weeks as an experiment.

Mr. Thomas: There is a question in my mind of too quickly changing the policy without very careful investigation as to why Negroes would not patronize the mixed clinic.

Miss Howell: I do not think the policy has been changed. I think it has just been done for a short time to see what will happen.

Mrs. May L. Woodruff (Allendale, N. J.): A very recent experience comes to me which bears on this discussion. A group of our officers were sent to Jacksonville, Fla., to locate a new site for our Brewster Hospital there. We are not proud of the building but we are very grateful for the work we have been able to do. One day I had the privilege of having interviews with all of the white and the Negro physicians practicing in that hospital. It was a most wonderful experience. The thing that impressed me so was that the Negro physicians had understood that we were there to look into whether we should move Brewster Hospital from Jacksonville or remain in Jacksonville. We had no thought of moving the hospital. These physicians said: "If you take Brewster from Jacksonville no Negro physician can have operations in the white hospitals and you will take away from us our only hospital opportunity." We

had no thought of moving Brewster but we did want more coöperation in Jacksonville. The Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce arranged an interview with eleven of the leading men of that city, the Mayor, the President of the Community Chest and others of similar position. We met them on Saturday morning and in an hour had a most marvelous meeting. We presented the interests of this hospital. As a result of that interview, coöperation has been so manifest that it has touched us very deeply, and Brewster Hospital this year, for the first time, is in the Community Chest. We feel that we have taken a long step in advance in the matter of coöperation with the city officials with this particular organization. It seems to me that it was so manifest that I would not be true to our work if I did not tell you about that this morning, because I know some of you know conditions in the city of Jacksonville.

Mr. Nichols: Are there not some delegates here from Mississippi, from Arkansas, from Louisiana and from Southern Florida and Missouri?

David D. Jones (Atlanta, Ga.): Just one or two points I want to raise in this discussion. In the first place, it seems to me that we ought to keep clearly in mind that we are not thinking about Negroes using white facilities. We are thinking of Negroes getting their share of the public facilities. We ought to keep that very clearly in mind because, although in Atlanta I do not get some of the things that I ought to get, nevertheless they are mine whether I get them or not.

Miss Campbell: Do you mean that the municipal facilities the whites use are not open?

Mr. Jones: I mean to say that they are my rights whether I get them or not; I do not mean to say that the Negro is using white facilities. Another point is that sometimes we think the Negroes use the facilities where we segregate them. I happen to know St. Louis very well, having lived there nine years. For a long time Negroes were admitted to the city hospital in St. Louis, but in being admitted to the city hospital they had to go several blocks around to get to the Negro ward, and then when they got there it was away around over the kitchen and over the laundry. Negro patients were given very little attention. White nurses did not care to serve them in any large measure. Now, they have a separate hospital manned by our own physicians and by our own nurses. The Negroes use that separate hospital more largely than they use the other. Now, let us not argue that because they use the separate hospital they like segregation. That is not it at all. They

get better service; they are treated as human beings; they are not made to feel that they are the scum of the earth. That is why they use the second hospital as against the first. To argue that we use a separate clinic because it has put on another name, is getting pretty loose in our thinking. There are some elements in it that maybe you do not understand.

Miss Campbell: I think that is very well put and it is one problem we must have cleared up because I think all the time there is loose thinking, whether it is the attitude of the Negro or the attitude of the white. It is a very difficult problem.

Miss Howell: I think in this case, although the treatment accorded is exactly the same, it is because the Negro mothers expect a different treatment, probably, that they come in on the segregated days. I think it is because of education rather than of segregation.

Mr. Washington: We should think clearly on the subject of the segregation of or in medical institutions. The problems of ill health grow out of segregation. If the Negro was not limited by housing in certain districts, he would not have such a high death rate; if he did not have the lowest paid jobs in the community he would not have such a high death rate. Isn't it a fact that every time you establish a new separate institution for Negroes you are bolstering up the idea of separation which at bottom is the cause of most of the Negro's ills and are, therefore, operating in a vicious circle all the time? Personally I would be willing to put up with a little ill health for a while if it meant stamping out the symbols of segregation which over the long period are the cause of the special difficulties of the Negro.

Miss Edwards: Do you not think this, particularly in the matter of the clinic Miss Howell of St. Louis mentioned, that the employment of one colored physician or colored nurse would inspire the confidence of the colored people? It has been my experience that the employment of one colored person is, I think, advantageous; it draws the colored people you are trying to save. They have the feeling that having one of their own there will get them a square deal.

Mrs. Lena Trent Gordon (Philadelphia, Pa.): It might be interesting to know that in Philadelphia the Department of Public Welfare during last year has had its particular hobby in its health problem. It established on the outskirts of the county within the environs of Philadelphia an institution run for the undernourished children of the city. Any child who goes there has to be passed upon by the Board of Health. Until last year Philadelphia children of color did not frequent it to any large extent. Having to do

now with the Department of Public Welfare, it has been my good fortune to spread the propaganda, thus letting the colored people of Philadelphia know that it was for their special use, and last year we were able to take care of 1,500 colored children. Often in a week the colored people overtopped the white inhabitants. A white woman happens to be the counselor. We were promised two colored counselors. There is no difference made in the center of activities. Both colors are treated alike, and it has been a question of letting the people know it is their municipal place.

Bishop Clement: The question has been raised here as to the advantage of separate institutions. We are not willing to commit ourselves to the idea of segregation. But we are anxious that where there is a public institution, be it a hospital, a school or whatever it is, supported by public taxes and operated in the interest of all the people, that Negroes, whether they be physicians, teachers or whatever they can qualify for, have access to those institutions.

Miss Campbell: Time is going. In consequence we will have to move on to the address of Dr. William H. Peters. He is our Health Commissioner in Cincinnati, the head of our Health Department, and has been very much interested in the problems which he will discuss. He has in every way tried to forward the interest of everything that pertains to the health of Cincinnati.

Dr. William H. Peters (Cincinnati, Ohio):

The Negro health problem is one of the big pressing problems of the day. While the colored rate is declining, and this is a hopeful sign, the Negro contributes more than his quota to the annual death toll of Cincinnati from practically every important cause of death.

Cincinnati's white death rate was 14.3 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1924, while the colored rate was 26.0 or almost double. In 1923 the white rate was 15.1 and the colored rate 26.3. In 1922 the rates were 14.2 and 22.5 in favor of the white race.

Our colored people, who constitute about nine per cent of the population, contribute twenty-eight per cent of the deaths from tuberculosis in Cincinnati. Approximately one-fifth of all Negro deaths are due to tuberculosis. As compared to the white race, over four times as many colored people die of tuberculosis per 1,000 of the population. "The condition is not purely local. The tuberculosis death rate in Ohio among Negroes for 1923 was 350 per 100,000 population as compared with a rate of 75.2 for whites. Tuberculosis is the leading cause of death among Negroes." Wonderful strides have been made in the Queen City in combating the great white plague, notably in the last five years. In 1910, one thousand and twenty-five people succumbed to tuberculosis. Last year the number was reduced to five hundred and twenty-four. The recession has been constant but the mortality rate among the Negroes is much too high.

Of the colored children born alive almost three times as many of them per 1,000 births recorded, perish during the first year of life.

The Negroes contributed over 70 per cent of the smallpox cases reported last year in Cincinnati, and yet in the Harriet Beecher Stowe School, which is exclusively for colored children, located in the down-town center of the colored population, there were no cases of smallpox because all of the children

had been vaccinated. Smallpox would disappear to the vanishing point if this requirement prevailed in our industries.

Social diseases, the pneumonias and Bright's disease claim a heavy toll among the colored people.

The excess in the colored deaths from preventable causes is responsible for more than one point in the crude death rate of the city.

Over one-half of Cincinnati's Negro population live in four down-town congested wards under conditions which make the Negro the victim of causes which lower resistance to disease. Among the most important may be mentioned bad housing, ignorance, race prejudice, lack of opportunity and dissipation. We list bad housing first because it is the chief predisposing factor, conspiring to keep up the army of susceptibles to disease at full strength.

Interest Manifested by the Health Authorities of Cincinnati in the Health of the Negro Population.

On June 27, 1919, the Cincinnati Board of Health met in extraordinary session to consider the Negro health problem—a most significant meeting attended by many prominent citizens, leaders in civic development and social workers.

One of the remedies suggested by the health commissioner was a community health center housing bureau for the prevention of tuberculosis and the control of venereal diseases, a dental department, general medical clinics for adults and children, a division of public health nursing and a social service department. The unanimous opinion was that the project should be carried out for the sake of the Negro and the city but unfortunately the money never became available. If the Community Chest Drive is successful this year we shall have a health center, not quite so elaborate as the one planned in 1919, but a modest beginning to which we devoutly look forward.

When the Sheppard-Towner grants became available for the protection of infancy and maternity in 1923, instead of spreading the service all over the city, we decided to intensify our work among the colored people for reasons that are perfectly obvious if we will recall the mortality rate among colored infants.

During the year and a half of operation we have had 250 prenatal cases, 1,800 infants, 700 children of pre-school age and 175 tuberculosis contacts under observation, and our colored nurses have made over 6,000 home visits. Within a very short time after a birth has been recorded, we are in touch with the home, as a result of which many children are registered and under supervision in our child health centers. We have two, and clinics are conducted each week.

In connection with the Sheppard-Towner work among colored people, the Department of Health sponsored a course of lectures on pediatrics for the colored doctors and a clinic week as our contribution to the national observance of Negro Health Week in 1924. Thursday, April 9, 1925, marked the close of a very successful Tuberculosis Institute which was planned by the Health Department in coöperation with the Negro Civic Welfare Association, The Public Health Federation, The Anti-Tuberculosis League and District No. 8 Graduate Nurses' Association. Never before have our colored physicians had such a splendid opportunity to study morbid anatomy, pathology, symptoms and treatment of this disease under men who are eminently qualified to teach the subject. Most of the lectures were illustrated by slides or by what the X-ray plate revealed. The film, "Diagnosis of Pulmonary Tuberculosis," prepared for the Army Medical School and shown through the courtesy of the Anti-Tuberculosis League was a recapitulation of the entire subject.

All of our resources in the different divisions of the Health Department are at the disposal of the colored population. They are always welcome at our Health Center.

What Share Do Negro Citizens Have in the Public Health Nursing Service?

The public health nursing service in Cincinnati is not centralized. In addition to the Division of Public Health Nursing in the Health Department many public health nurses are employed by organizations affiliated with the Council of Social Agencies.

We have a complement of twenty-seven women who are working under the plan of general nursing. Instead of having highly specialized nurses for the prevention of tuberculosis, control of venereal diseases, prenatal care, infant welfare, school hygiene, etc., one nurse combines all of these functions in a circumscribed area. We make the family, instead of the individual, the unit of nursing service.

Of the twenty-seven public health nurses in our division, five are colored. Putting it another way, we have one colored nurse for every 8,000 of the colored population. Our average for the white race is one for every 17,000 of the population.

In the two schools for colored children we have special nursing service.

All children are weighed and measured three times a year and those who are found to be 10 per cent under weight for their height at a given age are examined carefully. In addition to these we examine all other children in the first, second and third grades, and children who are referred to the doctor by the teacher or nurse.

In both schools, as was pointed out before, we have clinics once each week for children of pre-school age.

The open air children receive a warm cleansing bath each morning, and before they go to their classroom milk and crackers are served. The children are weighed regularly, their temperatures are recorded, they are examined frequently, and a special effort is made to correct physical defects that may be found.

By making the family the unit for nursing service, many hitherto unrecognized cases among the colored people are brought to light, as the result of which many colored individuals are under observation at our Health Center, located at 209 West Twelfth Street.

In the summer time infant welfare stations are established, and it has always been our custom to provide such service in the centers of colored population with the understanding, of course, that the colored people are free to go wherever they please.

What are the Facilities for the Handling of Health Conditions of Colored People in Our Community?

We have in our community seventeen colored physicians and a half dozen dentists. The number is a little bit below the average per thousand of the population, and it has been estimated that approximately fifty per cent of the colored people call upon the colored physicians. Among the indigent, many of the colored people call upon the district physicians of the Health Department.

Obstetric cases are accepted by the Maternity Society and the Cincinnati General Hospital. Over fifty per cent of the colored maternity cases last year were delivered in hospitals. Our colored people have access to all of the wards of the Cincinnati General Hospital and to the Out-Patient Department. Not many beds, however, are available in the private hospitals, and the Mercy Hospital, which was established a few years ago exclusively for colored people, and which is staffed by colored physicians and nurses, is struggling along under conditions that are not at all encouraging.

It is rather unfortunate for the physician, patient and community that the colored physician does not have the opportunity here in Cincinnati to acquire more knowledge and skill to deal with the medical problems in the solution of which he is the chief factor.

We have no training school for colored nurses and the colored physicians have no opportunity for post-graduate medical work or bedside instruction in the wards of any hospitals.

We have stated our problem and its causes impartially and as Mr. James H. Robinson, executive secretary of the Negro Civic Welfare Association, pointed out, this analysis places the responsibility where it properly belongs, on both races.

Let us not forget that the Negro is an American citizen, and the demands for citizenship today are the same for all. The Negro cannot measure up to expectancy if he lives in a bad environment, and if his health is not good.

VITAL STATISTICS

Mortality from All Causes—Colored and White Population Compared

		Rate per 1,000 Population
Deaths:		
1924	6,218	15.2
1923	6,528	16.0
1922	6,041	14.9
Colored Deaths:		
1924	911	26.0
1923	921	26.3
1922	764	22.5
White Deaths:		
1924	5,307	14.3
1923	5,601	15.1
1922	5,277	14.2

Colored People, 1924 (9% population), contribute 14.6 total deaths.
Colored People, 1923 (9% population), contribute 14.2 total deaths.
Colored People, 1922 (9% population), contribute 12.6 total deaths.

Population:

	1924	1923	1922
White	372,835	371,312	370,862
Black	35,000	35,000	*34,000
Census Bureau	407,835	406,312	404,862

DEATHS—TUBERCULOSIS—ALL FORMS

	1924	1923	1922
White	363	388	439
Black	161	153	165
Total	524	541	604

Colored Population, 1924 (9% of the total), contribute 30.7% TBC deaths.
Colored Population, 1923 (9% of the total), contribute 28.0% TBC deaths.
Colored Population, 1922 (9% of the total), contribute 27.3% TBC deaths.

Over 60% of deaths from tuberculosis in three contiguous down-town wards—16, 17, 18.

Infant mortality, three times white.

SYPHILIS, 1924.

White	63	68.0%
Black	30	32.0%
Total	93	

ALL FORMS PNEUMONIA, 1924.

White	373	74.6%
Black	127	25.4%
Total	500	

* Estimated

Report of the Committee on Health and Race Relations

Mr. Nichols: The Discussion Committee on *Health and Race Relations* consisting of Dr. Kleinschmidt of the Ohio Public Health Association, Dr. Peters, Dr. Clark, Dr. Beamon and Dr. Keller and the speaker, have thought that it might be wise to give an indication here of some of the causes of the high morbidity and high mortality rates among colored people, and then proceed to answer some of the questions you have raised.

First: We feel that mutual ignorance on the part of white and colored people as to the mutual dependence of each for their individual health and that of the community is one of the important causes of the high morbidity and mortality rates.

Another cause of the high morbidity and mortality rates is the adjustment that Negroes must make as they come from the rural sections into the larger city centers. There are facilities in these larger centers that will probably play an important part in the reduction of the morbidity and mortality rate among those who are coming to them. But there is manifested high incidence of disease during the early tenure of these people.

Unequal application of remedial and educational measures is a very definite cause of the high rates. Housing, of course, plays an important part. Poverty contributes to these high rates. An important cause is the lack of closer coöperation between white and colored medical groups in many communities in the matter of public health.

Second: I will present the answers to questions raised by the delegates in relation to the health problems of their communities. It is to be understood that the Committee can only give most general advice owing to its unfamiliarity with other conditions in the community that might affect those presented here by the delegates:

1. Clinical facilities should be applied equally.
2. Staffs of public health institutions: The Committee believes that staffs of hospitals and clinics ought to be selected as to efficiency rather than as to color or race.
3. Utilization of community facilities for health education: It is certainly obvious that the facilities in a community that exist for education, exist for the education of all the people of that community. This is a matter of adjusting community interracial relationships.

I should like here to say that it is my personal experience that these educational facilities many times do not apply to colored people because colored people are not active in securing their application.

4. The question was raised as to Negroes not using community facilities, e.g., poor attendance of Negroes at clinics, etc. The Committee believes this can be handled by an intensive educational work on the part of the agencies in that particular community. There is a very definite problem presented when the migrant arrives in town. He is afraid of the hospital and the

physician. He is a psychological problem and can only be handled by education.

5. The segregated hospital and separate hospital: We see no harmful effect in the separate private hospital. Jewish people have private hospitals, religious sects have private hospitals. But as to the public facilities, we believe that all of these public facilities, hospitals, clinics, etc., should be applied without discrimination.

6. As to the admission of Negro physicians to practice in hospitals, the Committee believes that colored physicians ought to be admitted to hospitals and to local medical groups in such organizations as the College of Surgeons on their qualifications based not on color but on character and efficiency. This is largely a local problem. There is no objection to colored physicians in the American Medical Association.

7. As to nurses: This is a problem that is divided in sections. You have a problem of the South and a problem of the North.

Now, in the South there is a very definite need for increased facilities for the training of colored nurses and the standardization of those facilities. There also ought to be an opportunity in that section of the country for post-graduate work. I mean by that that the nurse should have an opportunity to understand how to do public health nursing. At the present time I do not believe, unless it is at Meharry, there is a place in the South where a colored woman can get an adequate training in public health nursing. In the North that condition does not exist. Nurses are given all the opportunities that they care to accept for training.

8. The question was raised as to equal appropriations to engage an adequate number of community physicians, school physicians, nurses, etc. This is a matter of political activity of the constructive forces in the community. It is the opinion of the Committee, too, that we have got to think in the terms of training the colored students and the white students as to the value of the ballot in the improvement and correction of conditions in their community. It is unfortunate that intelligent Negroes who understand these problems among their own people do not have the chance to express their opinion in many sections by and through their ballot. And so I think the problem is down there in the schools to bring an appreciation of the ballot and also to train the Negro boy and girl in the absolute need and value of this activity in a democracy.

9. Some one said that in their community the tuberculosis clinic opened up once every three months. If I am correct in my understanding of that matter, that is not sufficient. Once in three months is certainly not sufficient for the handling of tuberculosis.

The Committee wishes to call your attention to the fact that very little was said by the delegates as to the measures of prevention in the matter of health. Here we have a problem of education. In closing this Committee's Report, one of the committeemen pointed out a rather significant thing, that much of the health information that would be of value in preventing such conditions as rickets, tuberculosis, etc.,—preventable conditions—are not used by Negroes. He suggested greater use of community agencies, as most of the information gets to the people through the public health agencies, churches, etc., in the community rather than through professional agencies. In prevention we have got to pay more attention to education, more attention to recreation facilities and more attention to the equal application of these measures by the city, county, etc.

I think that covers practically all the questions we received.

Mr. Arthur: May I say a word about health statistics as they apply to Negroes?

Miss Campbell: If Mr. Nichols will let you, I will place it under his jurisdiction.

Mr. Arthur: The figures that the Commission of Health gave are for the restricted area of Ohio. The 1920 census gives the average death rate for the American Negro at 16.1, which is 9 points less than the average death rate of the Negro in Ohio. The fact is that the percentages of increase in Negro health in that time, 1910-1920, was larger in proportion than the white groups according to the U. S. census for 1920.

Mr. Frazier: It seems to me that everybody here, in fact, everybody in the world, recognizes the fact that the Negro should be vaccinated, should have a nurse, should not be run over by the street car, should not do this and that; but it seems to me the chief point of this conference is: How are we going to get the white people, who do not see that, to see the situation? Since in Georgia they do not permit colored boy scouts, it seems absolutely foolish for me to say you ought to have them. I want to know how you can get them to do it. The man in New York dodges the issue. I understand they have colored boy scouts in Kentucky. Will somebody from Kentucky tell us how you get those white people in Kentucky to see the light? Would you raise the I.Q. or what would you do?

C. H. James (Charleston, W. Va.): I have come here voluntarily. I am only a business man, just a wholesale merchant, but I am very much interested in this question. As Dr. Peters held up the figures here, which we all know, about how unhealthy the colored people are, it seems to me that we are trying to solve the problem that our system has already produced. It reminds me of the old-time saying: "An ounce of prevention is worth many pounds of cure." What I mean is this: When you look around in this district, not only here but in every town, and see the sanitary conditions, you may know why our people are unhealthy. If they had the money they would not live that way, but they have not the opportunity to make the money. Now, if you create the opportunity for these people you will not have this problem to solve, neither will you have any race problem to solve. I have been in the wholesale produce business thirty-five years or forty years and 99% of my wholesale trade is white people. If you will give the colored man an opportunity to work, you will see him rise up and live in sanitary conditions, and you will not have to carry him.

Mr. Nichols (Interrupting): That is going to be discussed tomorrow in the matter of industry.

Dr. C. V. Roman (Nashville, Tenn.): I understood you to say that the opportunities for the nurses were unlimited in the North?

Mr. Nichols: The opportunity for training.

Dr. Roman: Is that true?

Mr. Nichols: I think training for nurses.

Mr. Thompson: I do not think there is a place in the state of Ohio where a colored girl may be adequately trained for nursing.

Dr. Roman: My observation is that the condition is a mixed one. What they do in Nashville by direct force, they do in Boston by innuendo.

Mr. Nichols: I think I ought to clear up the question about nursing. It has been my experience that whereas a nurse might not find an opportunity in Ohio or some other place, that same girl could find an opportunity in some of the other hospitals of the North. Now the problem of the North is not so much a problem of an opportunity for training, but of securing candidates for training. At the present time we have sufficient facilities in the North.

Mrs. Hunt: In Fort Valley when we want these agencies, we just go to work ourselves and do the job. We showed to the State Department that we wanted demonstration agencies. We did the work ourselves, and now the State Department takes care of our demonstration agents. We did the same thing and started in the public health work. We are working with our authorities there, and we believe it is not going to be very long before the state will take up this health work.

Mr. Nichols: I should like to answer that question. There is need for an effort in colored schools and colleges to convince the colored girl in those schools and colleges that nursing offers an opportunity for service that is about equal to that of teaching. There is a very definite problem, the problem of getting the kind of girl who has the fundamental education to take the work up.

Rev. H. M. Kingsley (Cleveland, Ohio): I am sorry to have to question Mr. Nichols' last statement. There are no opportunities in Cleveland, at least. Cleveland is a representative city of the North and I would like at least to protest against that statement because in Cleveland it is not true.

Mr. Nichols: I am not trying to differentiate by states. At the present time any qualified girl who wants to get a nurse's training in the North can find a place to get that training.

Mr. Martin: I think that so far as health is concerned, this Negro problem is a national one, and I think that is true in other relations.

If we find that there is a solution that will apply in Tennessee or Georgia, the same panacea will work in Ohio. It is not true that opportunity for training to conserve health is equal for the colored boy and girl in Cleveland as it is for others, and if this conference wants to recognize that fact and try to bring about that equality, it is necessary to go forward as one.

Mr. Nichols: May I ask if Dr. Kleinschmidt will say a word out of his experience in the last two or three years in Toledo, Ohio? He is one of the leading public health authorities in the United States and they have had some experience in Toledo in the past two or three years in this situation.

Dr. H. E. Kleinschmidt: In closing I would like to emphasize one point Mr. Nichols already brought up, and while we have been discussing facilities mostly, prevention has not so much to do with facilities after all. It is true we need tuberculosis facilities, but the city facilities which are open to all are not sufficiently used.

We found in Toledo that the facilities there were waiting for the colored people to use, were not adequately used. Science draws no color line and there is little discrimination shown, some perhaps. We are all entitled to hospital facilities, but the means by which knowledge of life-saving facilities gets to the people is largely social, and there, it seems to me, we are weak with regard to getting information about health to the colored people especially. Very little was said about rickets, which is particularly high among the colored people. Rickets need not be. It is not the cause, so much, of poverty. I agree with the gentleman who said the Negro wants a chance. Give him a chance, he will prevent these diseases. That is at least 75% true, but there is another 25% which has nothing to do with chance. It is the understanding and the ability to use the facilities which are offered and are not adequately used by Negroes. The Public Health Association in Toledo has a number of facilities and they are not called for sufficiently. It does not seem to me we can make great progress in combating tuberculosis, venereal disease and diseases which kill babies, if we do not use the information which is here and free and open to colored as well as whites.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION ON

II. HEALTH AND RACE RELATIONS *

A. Problems and Difficulties

1. Columbus, Ohio. (Extract from a Survey in *The Columbus Citizen*, March 18, 1925.)

* Made by Professor Earle Edward Eubank, Department of Sociology, University of Cincinnati.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION (*Continued*)

	Per 1,000		Per 1,000	
Negro chances of being murdered are	34	to	1	(white)
Negro chances of dying if injured are	5	to	1	"
Negro chances of infant death are	3	to	1	"
Negro tuberculosis death rate is	370	to	76	"
Negro general death rate is	23.3	to	11.8	"

In three years the Negro population increased 8%, while the Negro death rate increased 30%.

2. Cincinnati (figures given by Dr. W. H. Peters, City Health Commissioner) Negro population is 1/9 of the total in Cincinnati,
   Negroes furnish over ⅕ the total deaths from tuberculosis.
   Negroes furnish ¼ the total deaths from pneumonia.
   Negroes furnish 1/3 the total deaths from syphilis.
   Negroes furnish 70% the total cases from smallpox.

Negro rate of tuberculosis is	350	to	75.2	(white)
Negro rate of infant death is	3	to	1	"
Negro rate of general death is	26	to	14.3	per 1,000.

   And these ratios are mere samples of the general health status of Negro population in northern cities.
3. Negro high mortality due in part to:
   (a) Negro ignorance and indifference to health matters.
   (b) Difficulty in getting satisfactorily settled in new locations after migration.
   (c) Inadequate health facilities due to improper attitudes of officials and general public, especially in South.
   (d) Lack of coöperation between white and Negro agencies.
   (e) Lack of Negro aggressiveness in demanding their share of attention.

B. Evidence of Progress

1. Ratio of improvement in health conditions is greater in Negro than in white population.
2. Hospital and clinical care for Negroes on a par with whites reported from Youngstown, Nashville, Cleveland, Washington, D. C., and other cities.
3. Surgical practice in hospitals provided for Negroes in Lexington, Ky.
4. Negro staff members in State Health Department, reported from West Virginia.

Chapter III

HOUSING AND RACE RELATIONS *

Chairman: Mr. Forrester B. Washington, the Executive Secretary of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia, is Chairman of the Discussion Committee. Mr. Bleecker Marquette, Cincinnati, Ohio, will give the address. Mr. Washington now has the floor.

Mr. Washington: May I ask the members of the Discussion Committee and also Mr. Frazier to come forward? I want to say that our Committee met last night and we took this liberty with the rules. In order at least approximately to cover the problem we decided to divide it up into five main headings:

1. How shall housing best be provided for Negroes?
2. How can the Negroes' difficulty in trying to obtain mortgage money be changed?
3. A discussion of the rent situations.
4. How can better upkeep of Negro houses be obtained from the landlord and from the Negro tenant?
5. The effect of housing on moral conditions and health.

Finally, housing and race relations, what are the effects of residential segregation and that sort of thing?

THE EFFECTS OF HOUSING LAWS ON CONGESTION

Chairman: We will proceed at once to the discussion of these various subjects. The first one is: How shall housing best be provided for Negroes? Does any one wish to speak on that subject?

S. Joe Brown: We have in Iowa a State Housing Law, which requires certain things in housing regardless of your occupation, and if those things are not done the house cannot be occupied.

Miss Thyra Edwards: I would like to ask how effectively that has worked out and what the restrictions are?

Mr. Brown: So effectively that if a tenant reports to the Housing Commissioner that the house is in bad repair, this Commission will inspect the house and order it vacated, and no other tenant can move in until the repairs are made.

* Thursday, March 26, 11:00 A.M. Miss M. Edith Campbell, presiding.

Miss Edwards: Do the tenants take advantage of it?

Mr. Brown: Not as much as they should.

Mrs. Josephine M. Norcom (Cincinnati, Ohio): I would like to ask if all citizens are eligible as tenants in all houses?

Mr. Brown: Well, legally, they are, of course. As a matter of fact we have some restrictions the same as you have everywhere else. A man sells. His tenant cannot compel him to rent. Then, if he does not want to, there are houses in Des Moines he cannot rent.

Miss Edwards: Have you generally good conditions or have you any deplorable conditions, I was trying to see——

Mr. Brown (Interrupting): Fairly good conditions.

Miss Edwards: You do not think you have the tenement districts or——

Mr. Brown (Interrupting): We really do not have any large tenement districts. Des Moines has only 150,000 people, and we do not have very much slum property.

Mr. Greene (Pittsburg, Pa.): I would like to know how long that law has been in operation.

Mr. Brown: Well, I should judge five years.

LANDLORDS AND RACE

Mr. Greene: I would like to know if there is any housing congestion and how far that has gone to help relieve housing congestion. That is our problem in Pennsylvania. There is great congestion and we do not know just how to get at some way of relieving that congestion. Nearly all of the property in the district is owned by Jews. There is one place there, the assessed value of which is $500 the owner is drawing rent now of $123 a month off his Negro tenants. We would like to know just how far that law in the state of Iowa has gone in helping that.

Mr. Brown: As I said before, we do not have a very congested situation in our town. We have only one large city in Iowa and that is not a very large city, only 150,000 people.

S. J. Russack (St. Louis, Mo.): I would like to ask the gentleman from Pittsburg if, at a meeting of this kind, there is any particular reason to emphasize the fact that the homes he spoke of were owned by Jews? Would the gentleman have made the same statement if it were owned by Methodists, Presbyterians or Congregationalists? I happen to be a Jew.

Mr. Greene: My experience is that 90% of the property is owned by the Jewish race, and they take advantage. For instance, some of our employees at Westinghouse, where I happen to be connected, rent

from Jews and the property they took over last year was renting for $18 a month, and this particular fellow put it up to $42 a month.

Mr. Russack: I am not disputing the facts, I am only mentioning the necessity, at a meeting of this kind, to emphasize the fact by stating that this property is owned by Jews.

Chairman: May I say that being a Presbyterian, I should not like to have their record investigated. I do not know whether it answers the question or not. I am sorry to say, also, that we have not the same facilities for taking care of our philanthropic work that our Jewish population has, but I believe if some one——

Mr. Washington: I am sure that the remark is rather unfortunate because if it had not been for Jews in Detroit, Chicago, Cincinnati and many northern cities, we would not have been able to get any houses at all. Through my observation in the making of a State Survey in Pennsylvania, the chief white group found demonstrating the possibility of white and colored people living together in the same houses were dominantly Jews.

Chairman: In our model housing situation in Cincinnati, while financed by Mr. Schmidlapp, it is managed by Mr. Ginberg, who is a Jew, and many of the people in that model housing group are Jewish men.

Miss Edwards: Recently in Gary, Ind., we made a survey with the coöperation of the schools and churches, headed by white women and the white women's club. We discovered that the worst houses and the highest rents were being charged by Americans, and the houses kept up the best and with the lower rents for convenience were those of foreigners—Jews and Europeans included.

THE DIFFICULTY OF OBTAINING MORTGAGE MONEY

Chairman: The next question is: How can the Negroes' difficulty in trying to obtain mortgage money be changed?

Mr. Kingsley: There is one phase of that question which has no relation to mortgage money. This particular case is not a slum case; we are talking largely about people who cannot help themselves. The problem concerning us more than any other thing is that the man who wants to live in a better house, who wants to get away from the poorer neighborhood, his people are asked by the white people: "Why do you want to live among people who do not want you?" In this case it is not a question of mortgage money because the man is able to finance it. It is not a case of going to the courts, probably, because the people who are driving this professional man from this neighborhood realize that they cannot touch him financially, he is financially

independent. They say we are going to beat you because we are going to intimidate your architect and your contractors, we will make it so expensive for you in keeping guards here until the contracts are finished; we are going to see that when you are through the building will not be accepted, it will be inspected and found not to come up to specifications. What are you going to do about a case like that? Mortgage money is not all in this.

Mr. Washington: Cannot we keep to the subject? This is a discussion of mortgage money.

Bishop Clement: I want to give two instances: In Memphis, Tenn., a Negro applied for mortgage money deposited in banks there by one of the greatest of American insurance companies. He was refused. He told me about it. He was carrying at that time thousands of dollars of insurance in that company on his own life. The Negroes in Memphis were carrying insurance in that company, but the persons who had that money in trust refused to lend it on Negro property. There was not any remedy in Memphis. There is a remedy if the Negroes all over the country would put their fingers on that insurance company.

In the city of Washington a Negro woman wanted to buy a house. She was buying that house through a Negro real estate broker. She applied to a certain trust company in Washington, whose name I will not call, and the loan was turned down. The property was appraised far above, the equivalent valuation was far above what she desired. The appraisement was satisfactory, but when they found out she was a Negro woman, of course, they turned her down. She went back to the colored broker and he went down to the trust company. The Negroes in Washington had in that bank a million dollars. We got in touch with the Negroes who had money in that bank, and we said: "If you don't lend Negroes money on real estate in your bank, we will draw our money out of your bank." They got the loan.

H. Sudduth, Real Estate Broker, (Cincinnati, Ohio): My sixteen years' experience in negotiating real estate mortgage loans for colored people here in Cincinnati has taught me that 95% of those persons who are saving money for the purpose of purchasing a home and who eventually have need of a mortgage loan, deposit their money with savings banks. On the other hand, 5% of those who are saving purchasing money for the purpose of buying a home, carry those savings accounts with building and loan associations. Those who are saving money deposited in savings banks for the purpose of purchasing a home, after they have saved sufficient to make the initial payment upon the property, naturally, should go to their banks for the purpose of borrowing money with which to complete the pur-

chase price, and about 5% of those who apply to savings banks in Cincinnati are accommodated.

Those who are not accommodated are usually told one of three reasons: "We are loaned up and we will not be in the market for any more loans for sixty or ninety days," when perhaps at the same time that same bank was carrying two columns of six-inch advertisements announcing that they had money to loan upon real estate. Another reason they give is this: "Is your property in a colored neighborhood?" "Yes." "Well, that neighborhood is depreciating and we do not care for loans in that neighborhood." If the property happens to be in a white neighborhood, they sympathize with you for wanting to buy, but they are not interested in your application. Those are some of the reasons we meet.

On the other hand, building and loan associations have only 5% of the savings of those colored people who are saving for the purchase of a home, and they loan to the colored people some 95% of the mortgages upon the property held by Negroes in the city of Cincinnati. You will learn from that, then, that where the banks have the use of 95% of the Negro's savings in Cincinnati, Negroes get only 5% of the money they need to purchase homes from the savings banks. On the other hand, the building and loan associations that have only 5% of their money have loaned to the Negroes 95% of the money they now have upon property.

Mr. Ackley: I would like to ask if Negroes have difficulty in getting mortgage money in cities where Negroes run banks. I know in Nashville, Tenn., banks are run by Negroes. The president of one of those banks told me yesterday, not only did they not have difficulty in getting mortgage money, but many of the banks run by white people make loans to Negroes which he would like to have, if possible.

Mr. Sudduth: I am speaking of conditions in Cincinnati.

Mr. Martin: Simply have the colored people furnish their own money by organizing among themselves building and loan associations. That has been done in Cleveland. They can do it.

HOW CAN RENTS BE KEPT DOWN?

Chairman: I am going to suggest that next we have two subjects: How can rents for Negroes be kept down; how can better upkeep for Negro homes be obtained from the landlord and from the tenant? We will have to give ten minutes to both of those subjects.

Rev. C. W. Burton (Chicago, Ill.): Sometimes rents need to advance in the nature of things. In Chicago rents have advanced

more than 100% in the last few years, and I think on the whole that might be justified. When people move into better houses they expect to pay more rent; when wages are on the upward trend they are prepared to pay more rent; and I wonder if we should put the question just that way, how may rents be kept down, when sometimes they should not be kept down. I suppose we have in mind how they should be kept at the level they ought to be, and then I suppose the answer to that would be that the supply and demand must possibly regulate that. In Chicago we have some real estate dealers who have been in the profiteering business, as they have in other places, and I think public sentiment ought to be developed against profiteering in the real estate business, and I believe that our local organizations such as the N.A.A.C.P. and the interracial commissions ought to help in that direction.

Mrs. Gordon: We found in Philadelphia that the rent question between landlord and tenant takes about eight points in every ten cases of welfare work brought to our attention. The minute something that savors of law comes to the landlord's attention he immediately makes an adjustment. I just wanted to say that in the absence of a legal aid society you might start a model block work and get the city department to coöperate with the landlord.

Dr. Jernagin: The trouble we had in Washington for a number of years has been settled the last five years by our Rent Commission which has served to keep rents down. We are having some difficulty now as to whether or not we are going to continue that. That Rent Commission was a means by which the tenants could appeal their cases at any time the landlord put an enormous rent upon them.

BETTER UPKEEP FROM LANDLORD AND FROM TENANT

Chairman: The next question is: How can better upkeep be obtained from the landlord and also from the tenant?

Mr. Plaskett: On the question of upkeep, could not the legal aid societies be made to operate against the landlord? Poor people cannot go to law all the time. It is the only way they can get any sort of satisfaction, and I would like to know whether the legal aid societies do coöperate when you have them.

Dr. Haynes: I live in New York City, in Harlem. I have studied the situation a good many years and I can speak from both angles. I think we ought to face the facts. In these old tumble-down houses, that is a matter for a different type of protection, they cannot get repairs. If you will study the Harlem situation, however, where they have moved into high-grade houses, after two or three years, those

properties begin to run down. And if you will consult with reasonable landlords, who have faced that, you will find that the repair bills on those houses have materially increased when colored people have come to occupy those higher grade houses. It seems to me that one of the problems is to help those tenants learn how to take care of the properties when they move into the higher grade of properties.

Chairman: May I ask Mr. Ginberg to substantiate that in Cincinnati we have had very little difficulty with upkeep?

Mr. Harris Ginberg (Cincinnati, Ohio): No, our expense with the upkeep between whites and colored are the same. The destructiveness we mostly find among the children, and I think the white boy beats the colored in destructiveness.

L. C. William (Columbus, Ohio): I will corroborate what Dr. Haynes said. Recently I had occasion to take a survey in Columbus. We found that houses colored people had been living in had been damaged greatly and the landlords said they could not raise the rents and keep properties up. We found that properties rented to colored people were being torn down, the plaster was torn off the walls. We found that the colored people would have to be trained to live in houses with modern conveniences. Those who are here do not often see into the homes of the people who live in the back alleys and slums. There are hundreds of our people in the cities who do not understand how to care properly for these improved houses.

Miss Clay, Visiting Housekeeper, Cincinnati Better Housing League (Cincinnati, Ohio): I think we are all aware that condition exists where the property is occupied by certain classes of Negro tenants. Now we would be interested in how we shall remedy that condition, how we are going to teach our people. I have had it stated to me that it is impossible, but I find it is possible in most instances, and the method I have used is this: I see that my first approach is friendly. I establish a friendly contact with the tenant with whom I am going to talk. Second, I approve every effort made by the tenant to coöperate with my plan; I commend the work they do. More than that, I give them instruction in a confidential manner. No person who is not a member of the immediate family knows what our plan is, and I do get coöperation. I think it is a good idea to be willing to go the second mile to secure coöperation with the tenant. I think it is the plan of effective individual teaching service that brings results.

EFFECTS OF HOUSING ON MORALS AND HEALTH

Chairman: The next point to be discussed is the effect of housing on morals and health, and the effect on race relations.

Mr. Arthur: The effect is bad.

Mr. Ginberg: I have been asked to give a few figures of my experience on modern housing relative to health and conduct. The Cincinnati Model Homes Company houses 405 families, 225 of them are colored, comprising 56% of the total tenancy. We have kept close tab on the mortality and the conduct of one colored group comprising 185 families, approximately 600 souls. Since 1915 there was a total number of deaths of different causes, 66, or 6.6 per year. Divide that by 600 and it will give you 11 deaths per thousand population. The Cincinnati Negro death rate for 1924 was 26, varying two to three, for the last five years. That is rather slippery ground we have always considered. Any actuary or statistician here would knock me out in a very short time. However, we cannot claim that the Cincinnati Model Homes Company's tenants contribute 11% to the death rate of Cincinnati for this reason: A tenant may be with us ten or twelve years in good health, move out today, die tomorrow. We don't claim his death, whereas Cincinnati as a whole does claim his death. The only thing we can claim is that this particular group, the Washington Terrace group, does not contribute 26 deaths per thousand population.

But it seems to me the most encouraging feature, and I believe we stand here on solid ground, for we are not afraid of any statisticians, is the conduct record. We have kept close touch on the conduct record. For 1915, 1916, 1917 we had ten arrests; 1918, one; 1919, four; 1920, four. The total arrests up to 1924, inclusive, were 32 arrests for ten years. There were several arrests on suspicion and we counted them arrests just the same. Thirty-two arrests for ten years mean 3.2 per year. Divide that among 600 souls and you have one arrest for 188 souls. We thought it was a splendid record, and at the close of 1922, before the annual meeting, we addressed a letter to the Chief of Police asking him what the total arrest for Cincinnati was. Total arrests for 1922 were 30,925. Out of that 4,779 were colored. We wanted to arrive at the percentage. We estimated at the time that the colored population was 33,000; dividing that by the number of arrests, you get one arrest for every seven Negroes in Cincinnati for that particular year. But the balance were white arrests, 26,156. Estimating the population to be at the time 375,000, if you divide that you have one arrest for every fourteen white people in Cincinnati as against one arrest for 188 souls in Washington Terrace. I leave it to the delegates to draw conclusions about environment.

Mr. Bleecker Marquette, Executive Secretary of the Cincinnati

Better Housing League and Public Health Federation, gave an address then, in part, as follows:

The housing of colored families in the larger cities of the United States is uniformly bad. In most communities the major portion of the colored population is confined to sections in which the houses have deteriorated and general structural conditions are unsatisfactory. It can be said without much fear of contradiction that in every city in which there is an extensive colored population, the conditions under which the larger population of the colored people live are the worst in the city. This is reflected in the high sickness rate and the high death rate, particularly from causes which have a relation to environment such as tuberculosis, infant mortality, pneumonia, etc.

Added to this is the fact that due to a combination of reasons, the rents charged are invariably higher for colored tenants for less satisfactory accommodations. This is true whether the properties are owned by colored owners or by white owners and the reason usually assigned by the owners is that the colored tenants are less careful of the property and the wear and tear is correspondingly greater. If this is true of a limited group of families, it is the responsibility of the community. The Negro families coming into a community from the southern part of the country are unfamiliar with the problems of city living and in the average city practically no steps are taken to instruct them in their rights and duties as tenants. The majority of colored families are good tenants and often the landlord takes advantage of their helplessness and charges rents that are unjustifiable.

There is need for a better understanding between the races and a more sympathetic attitude on the part of the white population toward the housing problems confronting the Negro. There is need of more constructive efforts in helping the poorer colored families to make the best of the conditions under which they are required to live and to eliminate whatever basis there is for the charge that many colored tenants are not careful of the owners' property. In Cincinnati the Health Department has endeavored to do educational work and the Better Housing League has developed a system of visiting housekeepers, four of whom are colored and who work exclusively in parts of the city in which colored people live. They endeavor on the one hand to help colored tenants to improve their housekeeping and on the other hand to urge owners to make needed repairs and alterations. We have found this plan decidedly worth while and were it possible for the Community Chest to give the Better Housing League sufficient funds to employ enough visiting housekeepers we are confident that we could meet the situation with some degree of success.

There can be no hope of decent housing for the families of small income either colored or white without good housing laws well enforced. Such laws should first safeguard all future home building to prevent the creation of future slums, and, secondly, should require that existing houses be made reasonably fit for people to live in or be vacated. Many cities have reasonably good laws but few make even a pretense at enforcement. In Cincinnati the Building Commissioner, Mr. George R. Hauser, has recently had passed by the City Council an ordinance which requires tenement owners to pay a fee of $3.00 for the inspection of properties found to be in violation of the law. If approved by the Mayor we expect this ordinance to raise enough money to employ a total of eight housing inspectors. This will mean that for the first time in the history of Cincinnati there will be something like adequate supervision of tenement houses in which the poor, white and colored, are destined to live for many years to come.

There is needed also the development of a greater interest and better organization among the leaders of the colored race for bettering the housing of the poorer families. In most cities the poorer Negro families are neglected

by the white people and they do not receive anything like the organized assistance of leaders among the colored citizens that is urgently needed. There can be no doubt that an organized movement among the colored people to improve their housing conditions would accomplish much and would encourage white organizations which are endeavoring to cope with the problem. The Cincinnati Negro Civic Welfare Association has pointed out this need repeatedly.

Looking at the situation broadly as a problem facing the country, it would seem that if it were possible for some national organization to study housing conditions and available housing accommodations in northern communities that they could do a great service in protecting prospective colored migrants by directing them to those communities where there is a place for them. The colored migrants and the more overcrowded of the northern communities are both suffering from the fact that in many cases the migrants are going to the very cities which are least able to accommodate them. This has resulted in unspeakable congestion and has made the problem in such communities worse for all concerned.

A plan by which Negro migrants coming into a given city could be met at the railroad stations and assisted in finding housing accommodations and instructed in the problems of city living from the start would assist materially in preventing the acute situation that has developed in cities like Cincinnati where the congestion of the colored population is appalling. In coöperation with the Negro Civic Welfare Association, we have such a plan now in prospect for Cincinnati.

In addition to this there is no doubt that much more could be done towards stimulating colored families to own their own homes if colored people themselves would develop building and loan associations and other means of helping the colored families of moderate means to finance the purchase of a home and advising them on the numerous problems confronting the prospective home owner in purchasing or building a home.

The possibility that the leaders among the colored people might undertake to build homes is deserving of consideration. The chief difficulty in providing new housing accommodations for colored families lies in the fact that construction costs are too high to make it possible to produce a single or two-family house which the average colored family can afford either to rent or to purchase.

The Cincinnati Model Homes Company has done an outstanding service in providing low-cost homes to rent for both colored and white tenants. There are few housing developments in the country which like this one have actually succeeded in housing Negro tenants and white tenants of the unskilled wage earner group and which have at the same time paid a 5% dividend on the money invested. The Model Homes Company houses 402 families in group houses which are maintained in the best possible condition. The efforts of this Company to build more low-cost homes during the past year were not encouraging. These buildings had to be rented at the rate of $35.00 for a four-room flat which the Model Homes Company considered too high for the average wage earner and even at this rental it was not possible to realize the 5% which they have to secure on their investment in order to attract any capital at all. . . .

Northern cities have passed through one of the most critical periods in city housing for the Negro—aggravated by the shortage of houses and by the influx of migrants. Evidence points to the fact that the shortage is being cut down each year and that before long we may hope to begin a forward movement in the housing of our colored population as contrasted with the backward trend of the past three years. I shall close with a summary of work done in Negro homes by visiting housekeepers of the Cincinnati Better Housing League in 1924:

REPORT OF WORK DONE IN COLORED HOMES BY VISITING HOUSEKEEPERS OF THE BETTER HOUSING LEAGUE, 1924

I. Families	
Family visits	7300
Housekeeping improved	872
Families moved to better rooms	119
Overcrowding eliminated	48
II. Houses	
Visits of inspection	1039
Visits of supervision	1539
Interviews with owners	935
Houses remodeled	62
Conveniences installed	1707
Health and fire risks removed	773
Repairs	1765
Parts of houses cleaned and painted	4751
Houses vacated	37
Houses torn down	12

Chairman: I am sure you will recognize how very much we do depend upon Mr. Marquette's leadership in Cincinnati, and, as Mr. Robinson so affectionately called him one time, we look upon him as the Napoleon Bonaparte of Housing and Health in Cincinnati. I now introduce Mr. Washington, who will give the report of the Discussion Committee.

Report of the Committee on Housing and Race Relations

Mr. Washington: This Committee will not consume very much time in making its report. It is our desire to give the most time to you delegates for discussion.

1. In the previous discussion, which we are now summarizing, nothing was said about adding new housing facilities to Negro communities. That is the most important phase of the Negro housing problem, especially in the great centers of Negro population. Nothing was said about philanthropic housing. This is where an organization is formed by socially minded persons of means to build new houses or rebuild old houses for low-paid wage-earners. Investors in such projects do not expect to earn more than 4 or 5% on the money invested. The increase in housing facilities occasioned by philanthropic housing has been so small that it has been of little effect in reducing the Negro housing problem.

2. Somebody touched upon industrial housing. In certain sections of the country, industries employing large groups of Negroes have built a certain number of houses and either rented or sold them to their Negro employees. Other industries might be persuaded to do the same especially where Negroes in large numbers are employed.

3. Nothing was said about governmental housing for Negroes, although this has been proposed in some sections of the country. Governmental housing is the name given to housing projects conducted by city, county or state. This committee does not believe that self-respecting Negroes want any city or other governmental body to build houses for them.

4. Coöperative housing was touched upon by one speaker. The building and loan associations were pointed out as the best type of coöperative housing.

5. Private enterprise housing was recommended by one speaker. This is where people enter into the business of building houses for Negroes for profit, and there is no attempt to disguise it as philanthropy, industrial welfare or governmental paternalism. The matter of forming such companies among Negroes was considered and the committee endorsed the idea.

6. On the question of mortgage money, it seemed to have been the consensus of opinion that Negroes should form and support building and loan associations and also patronize those savings institutions which will loan money to Negroes. Attention was called to the fact that it is difficult for Negroes to borrow money from white insurance companies, while on the other hand they have been able to borrow from Negro insurance companies.

I would like to call upon Mrs. Gordon of Philadelphia to give a statement on how rents can best be lowered.

Mrs. Gordon: The Department of Welfare of Philadelphia of which I am an employee wished to keep down the rents of some of the families whom they are helping. Of course, we had no legal means of keeping down rent. The Director of Public Welfare suggested that we get in touch with a private agency and get a coöperative agreement with landlords whereby, in return for the city not raising their taxes, they would not only not raise rents but in addition would improve their properties. On the other hand through the Department of Welfare, the city could make numerous improvements in the abutting streets. We selected a little alley street as a place to begin. The city paved the street, the landlords put in stone steps, and the Department of Public Welfare provided flowers for flower boxes built by the tenants. The Armstrong Association of Philadelphia, the private agency with which we coöperated, organized the residents into a neighborhood improvement club and incidentally taught them to beautify the inside of their homes. It is the first time we have known of a city department, landlords, tenants and a private agency coming together on a common working basis to improve housing conditions and keep rents down.

Mr. Washington (continuing): 7. In the matter of decent upkeep, this Committee feels that it can best be obtained by landlord and tenant through educational methods.

8. In the matter of segregation the Committee is opposed to involuntary segregation because it leads to every social ill.

We are now in position to discuss the effect on race relations in residential segregation.

AN EXPERIMENT IN INDUSTRIAL HOUSING

Mr. Greene: Just before we go into that, you spoke about not touching on the industrial housing and also about the low cost of housing. I think the speaker that just left the rostrum made a very interesting comment on that situation. The Westinghouse Electric Manufacturing Company has been doing some industrial housing. They have not done as a good many corporations have done, built houses that could be rented cheaply. They felt that there was some better method of getting at this. They thought the thing to do was to build houses at a very reasonable rate and sell them to the employees at cost, so they mapped out a plan that has covered a number of years, and I have here two of the pictures.

We have also a little magazine published by the company that comes out monthly. And I have here a picture of one of the thirty-three houses recently completed that has been equipped by the Duchesne Light Company. The total cost of this property, a four-room house with bath, is $5,300.00. The employee pays 10% of that amount of money and 1% of the balance monthly until he has finished his payment. After about 55% of the payment money is paid in, he gets a deed for this property. That has not been applied to colored people as yet. During five years I have been trying to show them the necessity of giving colored people an opportunity to do that, and we have gotten it this far, the management is willing to try it as an experiment. There are some facts about our folks we have to keep in mind, and these managements know that. We have gotten to the point where the management endorses and recommends that $55,000.00 be appropriated to finance the building of such homes for colored employees.

NEGRO RESIDENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD VALUES

Mr. Frazier: There is one aspect in housing that has to do with the movement of the Negro population. Normally, economic groups, as they improve, move to higher rent districts, and I believe, normally, Negro groups move. This is not found to work among Negroes as a rule. A Negro, for instance, will move into a neighborhood where he is able to pay $70 rent. What happens? A panic takes place in that neighborhood. The white people move out instantly and the houses are empty. What do we have? We have

Negro families from a lower economic and cultural level taking these houses and taking in roomers. As soon as the landlord finds there are roomers, he raises the rent. It seems to me there could be some sort of interracial coöperation whereby a more normal movement of Negro population might take place so that the improving economic and cultural groups will move into these better housing conditions.

Mrs. Chas. L. Blinn (Cincinnati, Ohio): It seems to me the whole basis of race segregation in the first place is the lack of respect of the Negro for himself. Maybe I am wrong about that. I do not know why the Negro wants to live next to the white man. It seems to me he ought to respect his own people and enjoy his own people. In the second place, it seems to me race segregation has back of it another factor, and that is that every member that comes into a community must contribute value to property as well as accept value from property, and many times the Negro who has moved in has been in the position many a white man has been in. In other words, he has made money faster than he has risen culturally. Many a community has objected just as seriously to the white family that has come in for just those reasons.

I believe you will realize that only within the last generation woman has had any industrial chance or any other chance in the world. It has only been by persistent self-respect, by the persistent effort to improve and by persistent contribution of service that she has gotten any place and any recognition. I submit to you that most of these problems will be solved when the Negro respects himself as the son of God, believes he has the same potentialities that any other race has, and with that conviction he goes forth to better himself and make himself of value to the community.

A. L. Foster (Canton, Ohio): I think I can answer the reason the Negro wants to move into the white community. It is not because he wants to live next to the white man but because he wants to respect himself, and the white people have all the good streets in the city and all the good houses.

Dr. Jernagin: In answer to the lady who spoke about having us to stay among our own people. I think that is right if we can get her race, in any city, not to make any difference when they come to looking after the welfare of the city, and to make streets and conditions in Negro sections as beautiful as they will have them in their own section. There are only a few cities where those in authority will do this.

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION AND RACE RELATIONS

Mr. Dickerson (Ohio State University, Columbus, O.): As long as we have residential segregation we will have segregation in schools. Residential segregation produces separate schools right here in this city; the two schools we have are separated; and in Columbus there is the Champion Avenue School that is becoming a school consisting chiefly of colored children because it is a segregated district.

Dr. Burton: I wonder why we should be accused of wanting to get away from ourselves when we are trying to raise our standard of living? It has been pointed out that our people move into these better neighborhoods, not because they are so fond of white people but because they are fond of better homes. We have had this situation in Chicago. Our people have moved into certain districts in Chicago where formerly they have not lived. A family moves in having been induced to move in by some scheming real estate man so that he could buy property at reduced prices and sell it at an enhanced value. Negroes have gotten into districts in Chicago like Grand Boulevard. As they have gotten into these homes, many of the white people have moved out because they became alarmed. Some of them thought that Negroes thought more of white people than they thought of themselves. That was not it. As the Negroes acquire more wealth they, naturally, want to move into better homes, and as the white people are so afraid of them, it is to the benefit of the Negro that they desire to move out and let them come into these districts.

Mr. Thompson: I want to know wherein it is advisable for the Negro to voluntarily colonize if permitted to do so.

Mr. Martin: We ought not to overlook that there is large room for improvement among ourselves in cultivating Negro self-respect. If we will do that we will recognize ourselves and we will communicate to others the fact that we have among ourselves the ability of making superior Americans. We have our own chance, we can develop a means and awaken a purpose which no sort of oppression can restrain.

L. R. Mitchell (Lima, Ohio): I think this is serious and yet there is one vital point that is at the basis of all of it. There is unrest. There is an attempt to get out of a certain standardized community. Why is it? It is because of our educational system. We are all together, we are trained according to the same ideals, and that of itself has an effect. And you will notice that these people who are aiming to get away from the district in the back alley are usually people who have had some training with their white

brother. The white teacher has taught them about their common ideal and that has had its effect, and, of course, having the same potentialities they would have the same inclinations. The white man, after he gets so far, attempts to get away from certain sections. They are getting away, the standards are changing. And standards change with the Negro. He is going to want to affiliate with those of a common standard, whether white or black. It is a matter of seeking the level. That is Americanism, and the Negro is seeking and looking for it.

Mr. Thomas: We have said very much about how property depreciates when Negroes move into a section. We have not said anything about how it appreciates in many places where Negroes move in, and we can cite a good many places where property has appreciated in value since the coming of the Negroes.

Bishop W. J. Walls (Charlotte, N. C.): We had in mind that nobody who lives in an unfurnished or neglected community stays there in order to improve it unless he is a very wealthy man. It is impossible for the average person to improve a community the average of which is low in residence. In North Carolina we have three cities that illustrate the voluntary, the involuntary and accepted segregation.

In the city of Charlotte we have the involuntary segregation. It is impossible to move out of sections, and if one makes an encroachment he is stopped there and the white people never move away. As a result of that the people in Charlotte are at a disadvantage in improving their moral standard and it is an embarrassment to those trying to improve their status.

Then we have in the city of Winston-Salem accepted segregation, because the state and community have granted, by recent decision of the courts, that he does not have to be confined and is permitted to move at his own discretion. As a result of that and a system of great coöperation there that has helped to give the Negro his homes, he has perhaps the best housing section in the city.

We have in the city of Durham voluntary segregation, led by organized community improvement agencies, principally by the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company, which has proven to be one of the finest residential sections of the city and is the envy of the people who live in other communities and would like to have such advantages as the colored people have in that city. As a Jew once said: "If you permit me to live among my own people, I will live there by my own choice and I will find a place, but if in a democracy you say I must live there," he says, "I'll be hanged if I'll do it."

Dr. Haynes: We want this to be interracial. We have called a number of speakers, white and colored. Do not get the colored side of this so filled up that we do not give the other side an opportunity to say what they have to say. We have striven very hard to have this an interracial conference by having both sides here in about equal numbers. Let us make every effort to have discussion from both sides.

Mr. Martin: In this connection I wish Dr. Haynes had said also, we are looking only on the Negro side. An interracial conference ought to consider the side of the white man as well. We have our points of contact and this meeting seems to be in behalf of the Negro. The organizations calling it certainly do not intend it that way.

Rev. Clayton B. Wells (Wichita, Kans.): I am becoming interested in this not so much as a race problem as an economic one. I had a conversation with a gentleman in Boston, a native of that city, some years ago, who said: "What are we Americans going to do? I used to live here in Boston and the Irish came and we left. Now," he said, "the Italians have come in and the Irish have moved out." "And," he said, "there are already premonitions that the Chinese are coming in and the Italians are going to move out. I do not know where the white man is going to go if he continues to retreat."

I have a neighbor, the nearest pastor to my own parish, who is having his troubles along this same line. He had charge of a parish, the colored people came in, the white man began to retreat. Well, my friend found himself in such a mixed parish that he moved his charge. Some of them kept their ground and moved out about a mile and a half, out of the city. A few days ago I met him and he said: "We are going to have the same trouble again," and he is beginning to be a convert to the idea of segregation. I told him I hoped he would behave as a Christian.

James Barrick (Ohio State University): I have come to the conclusion that it is from just such a meeting as this, where white people can get to understand the viewpoint of their colored neighbors, that good is going to come. I think the trouble is that the white people do not understand. Therefore when the gentleman mentioned that this was getting to be one-sided, it seems to me we need the one-sided statements more than anything else, so that it will clear up any misunderstanding and let the white people understand the other side more.

Mr. Washington: I am sorry we have to bring this discussion of housing to a close.

Mr. James H. Robinson: I cannot let Miss Campbell leave the room without saying that she has been the great chairman of the Negro Welfare Association for a period of five years, she has helped to do its work, think out its work and fight its battles.

Mr. Sudduth: I think it will be in order to entertain a motion to thank Miss Campbell for her services this morning. (Motion seconded and carried unanimously by standing vote.)

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION ON

III. HOUSING AND RACE RELATIONS *

A. Problems and Difficulties

1. Inadequate Negro housing facilities in most cities, produces congestion, health, safety and moral hazards. Negroes invariably forced to live where conditions are worse.
2. Rental disproportionately high in Negro districts.
3. Evil effects of efforts at enforced Negro segregation.

B. Evidence of Progress

1. Gradual creation of Negro building and loan associations making possible good Negro residence districts; e.g., Walnut Hill in Cincinnati.
2. Negroes found to have a better record than general population for maintaining order and preserving property in Cincinnati.
3. Equal enforcement of housing ordinances coming from certain localities.

* Made by Professor Earle Edward Eubank, Department of Sociology, University of Cincinnati.

Chapter IV

THE MOVEMENT TOWARD INTERRACIAL COOPERATION *

Chairman: The topic of this afternoon is the *Growth of the Interracial Movement,* and, it seems to me that the two thoughts to keep in mind are first, the "Inter" and second, the "Movement." This morning we kept approaching certain unanswered questions—such questions as how to get the white people of the community to recognize the necessity for a definite program of public health for the colored people; or how to get the coöperation of the colored people in the procedure and the policies necessary to improve housing. I take it that this interracial movement is the experimental effort to answer just such questions, because it is founded on the idea that no decision and no policy involving two races will work in any community unless it has the acceptance of both races. If this be true, then it means that both races must participate in facing the problem at the very beginning in order to insure the acceptance of conclusions as a working program for that community. Evidently this is the theme that we are to discuss this afternoon—the methods of organization and the national and local policies which have developed out of the interracial movement. Dr. Swartz will present a statement for the Discussion Committee in charge of this topic, and I shall ask him to take charge.

Dr. Charles B. Swartz (Chicago, Ill.): We have four discussion leaders, as you will see, under policies—local and national. It seems wise to group the methods of organization and policies together, and ask these people to speak for five minutes on a certain topic. You will ask your questions on the topic on which these different people speak. At the close of the address by Dr. Miller there will be further time for discussion. I believe it well to ask Dr. Alexander if he will answer certain questions that have come up in regard to this interracial movement and its growth. Dr. Miller is not here yet and we will ask Miss Bryson who is identified with the Y. W. C. A. to speak on the interracial movement among the student group.

* Thursday, 2:15 P.M., March 26, 1925. Miss Mary Van Kleeck, presiding.

THE INTERRACIAL ASPECTS OF THE Y. W. C. A.

Miss Gladys Bryson (New York City): As I speak, I hope you will understand I am talking for that section of the Y. W. C. A. known as the National Student Council, which gathers within itself 100,000 women or more—women students. You can use your imagination and believe many things I say are true equally of the hundred thousand men students in their national student council, although we do work somewhat differently.

This morning, once or twice, despair was faced because we did not understand each other. First of all, in our National Student Council we always consider ourselves as an interracial group. We find ourselves in white and colored schools alike; we find ourselves with white and colored secretaries, both groups having the same responsibilities through our executive committee and the National Board. We find ourselves working with white and colored students and faculties in the system we know as our council system, and in our executive committee. You cannot know how much we hope from our council system. In a country as big as ours, it is of course impossible that all of its policies and duties could be controlled by one central office however centrally located that might be. That is one reason why we have chosen to delegate our responsibility to council groups throughout the country. So you will find in the east, three or four separate groups of students working around a central conference unit. Most all of you have heard of Blue Ridge. We have a group of students elected at that place and through the year they plan our policies and work in the schools and colleges and for the Central Executive Committee. Those councils throughout the country are interracial, proportionately to the number of colored schools in the section. For instance, of nineteen council members in the southern states, five are colored students; of the nine council members in the east, one is a colored student and so on.

One of the chief things the Council concerns itself with is the encouragement of study of interracial conditions in schools and colleges. There are constant suggestions in letters, lectures and bulletin and speakers who are available—white and colored. Groups of white and colored students gather together to discuss the things that are common problems. In this conference there are both white and colored students whose expenses are being paid by these councils; that is, the executive committees of which I speak, which are interracial groups. The staff is colored which in the beginning administered only colored schools, but more and more they are having exactly the same relationship to the white schools in the regions

that the white secretary is having, and more and more white secretaries are being invited to come to the colored schools.

Chairman: If you have no objection I would like to have Miss Bowles of the National Board, Y. W. C. A., continue this discussion since both she and Miss Bryson represent the National Board.

Miss Eva D. Bowles (New York City): In the first place, I hope this group of people here assembled will try to realize with me what this movement is and realize it is one of the lay movements of the church—or lay-Christian movement; also we are a movement of women and girls. You might like to begin thinking that the Y. W. C. A. is an interracial organization and that the contribution the Y. W. C. A. is giving toward interracial understanding is very definite. I would like to bring to this group the fact that the Y. W. C. A. antedates any other organizations in its interracial effort. Beginning with the organization of our board in 1906, and then in 1907 at Asheville, N. C., it was taken up by white women in interracial meetings as the first step. Our aim is that there should be but one movement; there can be but one Y. W. C. A. as there cannot be any such thing as a colored Y. W. C. A. There may be a Y. W. C. A. among colored people. Our staff of national secretaries are not segregated; we all belong to our specific departments. I should like to tell you the people who really make the policies of the National Board are white and colored women and for some time we have had on our most important committees colored women—colored women in our city department and two colored women in the industrial department and a colored woman just being added in the greater research department. At the last convention, the National Board elected a colored woman to be a member of the National Board.

Leaving our National situation and coming to our local situation, our attempt is very definite. As white and colored secretaries working together, we bring the realization that it is an interracial movement to our doors, a responsibility to all the girls in the community.

The Y. W. C. A. which is composed of a diversity and complexity of groups of the whole community and the Y. W. C. A. in a community is not meeting its full responsibility until all the girls are taken into consideration. And, concretely, in our industrial work we try to bring to the consciousness of our whole Association that the girls who work, white and colored, in industry, are interdependent each on the other. There cannot be an industrial movement among white girls and one among colored girls, but an industrial movement which is one and the same.

Just one more thing as to publicity. We never attempt to herald the things we are doing, but try to develop them in a natural way—in any way that creates attention to the thing accomplished, because, after all, the movement that I represent is one which takes into consideration the spiritual values of all women. Our great object is not only to help the colored women and colored girls, but that all women and all girls shall understand each other.

Chairman: We shall now have ten minutes for discussion of the topic under the two-minute rule.

Dr. Haynes: I would like to ask Miss Bowles the exact steps taken locally in getting their committees organized and what type the organization is?

Miss Bowles: We use the word device—a "device" was formed some thirteen years ago to have an interracial committee. We did not call it that then, but it was really an interracial committee. It is composed of an equal number of white and colored women; also composed of white women of different experiences and background, and the same applies to colored women. Through this committee and under its administration all our work is accomplished. As you can see, it means an understanding of the races.

Dr. Haynes: How do you get these women? How do they relate themselves back to the two groups they represent?

Miss Bowles: The white women are selected from the Board of Directors and the colored women from the Board of Management of the Colored Women's Branch.

Dr. Haynes: Are there any associations where they have colored women serving on the Central Board?

Miss Bowles: There are eight states north of the Mason and Dixon line where colored women serve as members of the board of directors; also there are colored women who are members of the committees of the board.

Dr. Haynes: The point I wanted to bring out, Madam Chairman, is this: that I think the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. more than other organizations have gone at least that far in the direction of recognizing the colored men and women as constituent parts of the community. That is a point I think well worth finding out.

Chairman: Are there any questions?

STUDENTS TRYING TO SOLVE RACE PROBLEMS

Miss Emogene Johnston (Ohio State University, Columbus, O.): We have students forming a kind of organization, in which we work hand in hand with other students, and as an outcome of

the effort we have a forum, an interracial forum. At this forum we discuss the questions interesting to the students. We have 9,000 students at Ohio State University; about 350 are colored and 100 more from the Orient. We all join together and sit at the table, eat and sing together and then have under discussion the problems that come before us. The white men and women learn to know the colored. We establish a basis by which we know each other and by doing that, Ohio State feels we have come closer to solving the questions and difficulties, threshing out our problems around a common table. Everybody has a right to come to that place. We all know public opinion has to be educated. In the history of the interracial movement, we would like to say that the Ohio State is entitled to at least a page. We feel, as students, we have a big part and will solve this problem; but, of course, until we do solve it on our own campus, we cannot solve it elsewhere.

Miss Frances Williams (New York City): May I call on Blanche Dix who is the secretary and knows of the central region?

Miss Blanche Dix (Northwestern Univ., Chicago): The central region is composed of the schools and universities in this region, which, you know, contains many of the largest universities we have—Chicago, Northwestern, Ohio State, Overlook, Peabody and a lot of others. We are trying to work in this as part of the Y. W. C. A., and where it is impossible to work in the interracial group as part, we work it as an individual thing, and connect it up with the work just the same. It is the policy of the Y. to have a regular commission. The chairman of the interracial commission is to see that all these groups that have interracial work are connected with each other. We have common ideals and common ideas and try to put them over so that every one can feel they are a part of the movement. The students are not asleep to this; they are very much awake to the fact that it is up to them to help solve the great problem. One of our chief aims is to become friendly toward each other. We feel if we become friendly and know each other in a friendly way we will see we are more nearly together than we thought we were.

Miss Frances Littel (Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio): I would like to tell what we are trying to do in bringing a better understanding and a deeper understanding between the girls of all races. We started last year in having interracial, colored and white, discussion groups. We brought up our problems, but we felt we were not getting anywhere, making ourselves feel worse and not finding a concrete solution. This year we have tried to put on a series of meetings and at these meetings no distinction is made between any race. We try to put across the idea that all the girls in the

college are just a group coming together from different parts of the world, having a different background, and we want a chance to know their background better. We make no distinction and I think it has worked out much better than other schemes. Another year we are considering putting the Y. W. C. A. into this, making it educational.

Ernest L. Ackley (Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.): I want to tell what we are doing in the South. We have student forums for Negro and white and we are discussing not only racial difficulties but difficulties we have in common.

Chairman: I am sorry we cannot have more discussion. From the discussion we have had by students present, I think we all agree that the undergraduates are teaching us something.

PRINCIPLES OF INTERRACIAL ORGANIZATION

Dr. Alexander: I have been requested to answer this question: What kind of a constitution should a local interracial committee have? The answer I would give is that it should have whatever sort it needs, the emphasis being not on the form of the organization, but upon an idea—a spiritual idea—rather than the form of an organization.

I was also asked to answer: How to organize an interracial committee? There again we are going back to a mechanism. In every community I have seen, there are a few people who are open-minded and who have certain things in common. At least, have enough in common to be willing to sit down together and try to look together at their common problems in the community. Those are the people around home and those are the only sort with whom you can form an interracial group in the community. Find them! Bring them together and set them at work trying to discover their responsibility in the community. We are thinking not in terms of white or colored, but of all racial groups.

Now it is not very profitable to get people together to talk, and your fundamental problem is the problem of attitude. I don't think a man's attitude was ever changed by a direct attack—you never change him with a stick or club. You probably change the attitude of people first by bringing them into perfectly human contacts with others. Second, by bringing them into the presence of some given task and setting them at work at some common task, out of which, more than anything else, the proper attitude should come.

Right attitudes are by-products of other things and therefore the fundamental thing for this group is that they shall find something—

some things to be done, and get together to get them done. You have done much more when you go with a man to do something, than when you simply do something for him. The difficulty is to eliminate that delightful sensation of doing something *for* someone.

Colored people have as much to contribute to the solution of America's race problem as the white. It cannot be done by either group alone. It must be done together and there must be a larger appreciation of that fact. It will never be done until we do realize our responsibility and begin working together at a common task. What will an interracial group do? They will do whatever things are to be done first, depending entirely on the community, not spending too much time in talking. Better find one or two concrete things needed and get them done.

You say, and we realize that quite clearly, that after all, these things we are talking about are not fundamental; but we must, in this country, change the community's attitude on this whole question. I believe it is sound philosophy to say the attitude will be changed—not by the things you say to a community, but by the things a community does. If you could lift the whole Negro population out of the slums in the next twenty years, improve their living conditions, you will have gone further toward changing the attitude of the community in which they live, than in any other way. Lift a man out of a mud hole and you elevate him in the opinions of men.

Mrs. Lula E. Lawson (Chicago, Ill.): Two years ago, in our branch of the Y. W. C. A. that does work among the colored girls, we did not understand our responsibility in helping to bring about a proper feeling in our whole state. Our girls are included in the Y. W. C. A. just as all girls are, but some of the principals did not quite understand why colored girls had to be a part of that organization. There was one especially, and in order not to antagonize that one principal, we did not go to her and tell her it was right, but we turned around to make friends, getting her interested in what we were doing and in that way she was attracted to our program for colored girls and our ideals and standards, working and coöperating to help all the girls of Chicago. We are working along in our high schools; our girls get together in council.

We have a woman of the board of directors that wanted to inform her husband so he would let her work for an organization that was doing work specifically for colored people and she did not know how to get him in that frame of mind. She invited one or two members of the staff for tea and we took along two volunteers. We met this gentleman in his home and he was so surprised to know

we were such nice folks. He was willing after that to go with his wife to our branch.

Miss Constance C. Fisher (Cleveland, Ohio): We formed an interracial group and are trying to get people to belong to this group. We are trying to find little things in which we can help. One of the members of the committee went into a bank one day and a teacher had a group of students there for inspection. One of the workers in the bank noticed a white and colored girl walking arm in arm in the room and he called attention to that. The teacher said, "What do you mean?" He said, "Look at those two girls walking together with locked arms!" She said, "Well, why not?" After a moment or so he said, "I guess you are right; why not?" We are trying to do little things like that where we find we can change the attitude.

Dr. Burton: One of the most encouraging things to me is the new interest and attitude of our schools, both among the student body and staff, as well as the new interest our churches are manifesting in this matter. A few weeks ago I was invited by one of the professors of the University of Chicago to come and address a class in psychology on race relations. They gave me a whole hour to talk about it as I wanted to, and when I was through, asked if I could come back the following day and consume another hour telling more and answering certain questions the students wanted to ask. It was a most delightful experience for me and very revealing in a good many ways.

One question was asked by the professor himself: "Suppose we should find ourselves in the midst of another unfortunate race riot, what could social agencies or churches or interracial commissions do to help the situation?" I said, "If you wait until a race riot is impending, you might as well try to drive back an avalanche. It seems to me the thing you are doing here is the thing that will make it impossible to have any race riots in the future."

In Chicago we have an interracial commission that has grown up, partly because of the race riots there in 1919. Our Chicago Church Federation has been taking the lead. The Federal Council of Churches came along with a program through Dr. Haynes who made a visit to Chicago. We have a regularly organized commission composed of 100 leading white and colored citizens of Chicago and we are going to function along the lines that have been indicated here.

Chairman: Will Mr. Philo C. Dix, of the State Y. M. C. A., Louisville, Ky., take up the discussion at this point?

THE INTERRACIAL MOVEMENT IN KENTUCKY

Mr. Dix: The organization of the interracial work in Kentucky took place five years ago when a commission was appointed by the state Y. M. C. A. The Commission is still affiliated with that organization, though it contains a number of members not officially connected otherwise than in the interracial work. We employ a state interracial work director, Dr. Bond. In the first years he had associates with him who gave their entire time to the organization, first, of organizing interracial committees in all counties of the state in which there were any considerable Negro people, which amounted to 60 out of 120 counties in the state. These interracial county committees were composed of both white and colored people and their task was to meet and consider the conditions in the county as they related to the two races, and iron out those occasions for friction which were usually found to exist. Most of these difficulties centered about such questions as the schools, the use of the public moneys, the administration of justice, the provision of equal facilities for the Negroes where the law required separate facilities to be afforded. On school questions, these county committees have rendered very valuable service in ironing out difficulties; also in helping smooth over occasions for race feeling due to crime and attempts at lynching and things of that sort. These county interracial committees have been able to head off lynchings, and other evidences of race feeling. Dr. Bond, who has been very closely related to them, can give you the details.

Following up this work we have a state Interracial Commission that handles such matters as relate to the railroad companies, provisions in depots and other places for colored people; dealing with the state officials as they deal with the schools; dealing with the attorneys to try to bring about conditions that afford the Negro equal justice in the courts—all the ways in which a state organization can come in touch with the problems which are causing the friction—that is the way these committees are seeking to carry out the plan.

LYNCHINGS PREVENTED BY INTERRACIAL COMMITTEES

Chairman: Will Dr. James Bond, of the Kentucky Interracial Commission, close the discussion?

Dr. Bond: I shall be glad to give one or two instances of the work as Mr. Dix indicated. In the last four or five years, we know these county interracial committees, together with the activity of the director, have prevented at least five lynchings, and humanly

speaking, that is something. At one place, a Negro committed a cold-blooded murder and immediately they began to talk of lynching him. We had a committee there and we got in touch with the colored man on the committee and he called a meeting of the colored members of the committee and they passed resolutions expressing the deepest regret at the crime, disavowing any sympathy whatever with the murderer. They sent that letter to the members of the family of the man who was killed and they got the white committee together. The sheriff and the jailer were members of the interracial committee. The sheriff issued a statement urging the people to let the law take its course and the family itself was induced to write a public letter saying it did not want the family disgraced in that manner. The Negro had a trial and was electrocuted in due process of law.

In another place, the mob was forming and threatening not only to lynch the Negro but burn up the colored settlement. We had a committee there and the colored members of the committee got together with the white members and decided on this expedient: They struck off—the colored members did—a bill setting forth their regrets and offering a reward in their own name for the arrest and conviction of the criminal. In the streets where the mob was forming, they went around and distributed that bill. The mob read it and disappeared gradually. The Negro was taken, tried and electrocuted.

Just the other day I wrote to the committee at a certain place. The feeling was high. I telephoned a prominent colored man in that place and asked him to get hold of Judge K—— and prevent a lynching at whatever cost. He said to me, "Don't you worry about it, Brother Bond, there's not going to be a lynching, for the committee is on the job." I believe if it had not been for the interracial committees there would have been five or six Negro lynchings in the state of Kentucky in the last five years, instead of one.

Dr. Haynes: I would like to ask how you get the local committee set up and its relationship to the state committee?

Dr. Bond: I went and saw the colored people first and asked them to name or suggest white people they themselves would like to put on such a committee because all kinds of people are appointed and if you go to a community and select, generally the wrong person is likely to be selected. So the colored people selected members for the white part of the committee, and selected their own members, too. This thing often happens; the white man will say, "Well, now, here is John, my chauffeur. I have known him all my life and he is a fine chauffeur, put him on the committee."

John might not be at all the kind you want; you want to get representative colored men, who stand for what is best in the community. Get that kind of people together to organize.

In one place the white people said, "We don't need any interracial committees; it's a good thing, but we get along the best way in the world; we have the best kind of colored people in the country right here." Some colored man got up in the meeting and they "swapped" compliments for a while, but within the next few weeks one man came near being lynched in that community under the most aggravating conditions.

Before you have a meeting, get the colored men to sit down together and make up a program. Put in black and white the needs of the community. There is no use going into committee just to talk; put down the things: police protection, water, school buildings—whatever it is, have a program when you meet the white members of the committee and face the conditions. The big thing is to have the white and colored come together and work on at least one problem; one problem at a time, but have a program and many good results will come from it.

INTERRACIAL MOVEMENT IN INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

C. O. Lee (Indianapolis, Ind.): There were two interracial committees previous to the most recent interracial committee, one from the Church Federation and one from the Y. M. C. A. We felt, however, there ought to be a much larger representation in interracial groups, so the Council of Social Agencies was instrumental in gathering together representative citizens—25 colored and 25 white—into an interracial committee of the Council of Social Agencies. We organized that committee with functional sub-committees; one on health, one on records, one on economic justice, one on education, one on civic improvement.

We have done some investigation work, particularly on the Health Committee, investigating such questions as opportunities for training colored nurses at city hospitals and for the entrance of colored internes and colored physicians. We have tuberculosis hospitals into which we felt more colored people should be admitted. They are admitted at present on a basis of percentage of the population which is about one-tenth of the county, and the prevalence of that disease is larger among the colored people. We felt the entrance to this hospital ought to be on a basis of the prevalence of the disease rather than on a percentage to the population. We are striving to study the questions, taking up now the housing situation; we are

getting ready to make a survey of the housing conditions as affecting the colored people.

H. W. Borst (Indianapolis, Ind.): Our committee is two years old; the first problem we faced was a lack of knowledge and of information on the part of the white members relative to colored leadership, such as that of Booker Washington, how to realize the thing for which this man stood and something of his accomplishment.

We took one year to study certain books and people and at the end of the year found we were ready to lay out a policy for one year which we could adhere to. That policy had eight points, the first of which was to make a larger committee. At that time we had only six members, 3 colored and 3 white. We sent a request to the President of the State Federation of white women's clubs, asking them in making their year's program to put in two or three subjects we would suggest which would open the racial discussion. After that we organized a speaker's bureau. We want to have people well informed who go out and make speeches. We are contemplating in this year's policy to have a loan library and put in anything we can get on the colored people. We have the coöperation of the librarian who has issued to us a list of valuable things. We have meetings where we discuss the accomplishments and the doings of the Negro and now we are about to issue a paper called the *Friendly Citizen* containing book reviews and everything necessary to educate our white friends.

Chairman: In leaving the topic on the *Growth of the Interracial Movement* I should like to say just one thing. Dr. Alexander pointed out in considering the organizing of interracial committees that colored people have as large a contribution to make, at least to the problem of race relations, as have the whites. I would like to go one step further and say that the colored people of this country have as much to contribute to the social and economic problems of the entire country as have the white, and I should like to point out that although we recognize that all these problems have their special racial aspects, nevertheless, housing, health, industry—all the topics we are discussing, have also fundamental common phases, for they are problems we have together. We cannot solve them wisely on a racial basis without recognizing that the right procedure for dealing with them must be developed in the light of their effects upon us all, regardless of race. In other words, in considering the relation of the colored people to the social agencies, we must not think of them only as concerned with the relation of white and colored, but rather as opportunities for white and colored to cooperate in solving common problems. By working together on the

common problems of our country, we do much to promote racial understanding. Although the problems may have racial aspects, nevertheless they must be dealt with on the broad basis of what is best for the entire community.

Chairman: I will call on Dr. Herbert A. Miller, Professor of Sociology, Ohio State University, who will address us on *Principles of Amicable Interracial Contact.*

Dr. Miller then spoke in part as follows:

The race problem is the product of attitudes. These attitudes can best be dealt with by religion and by science. The method of religion makes no necessary effort to discover the causes, but it nevertheless often secures a right-about of the attitudes. Not since immediately following the Civil War has there been such an effort as now to bring the influence of religion to bear on the race problem. It is a tremendous power, but it has definite limitations. It does not touch those who are untouched by religion; when there is a loss of faith then race prejudice may return; it may become bigoted. The K. K. K. is just as devout as this Interracial Conference.

Psychoanalysis cures pathological conditions by explaining them. That is, when the origin of a disturbance is disclosed, the trouble tends to disappear. Modern science is now able to take away all the basis for prejudice, and sooner or later when its data have seeped into the popular mind practically all the attitudes which now prevail in race prejudices will be so contrary to common knowledge that one will have to advertise himself as a fool if he holds them.

One of the first steps necessary to getting a perspective is to compare the attitudes which prevail toward the Negro, for example, with those towards women and Jews. It will quickly be seen that the same things are felt and said under widely different conditions, and gradually the absurdity of them will appear. Then they will yield. The belief in the inferiority of the Negro and the unassimilability of the Japanese is at present honest rationalization which the facts do not support. These scientific facts, however, will have an inertia unless there is a religious motive to accelerate their application.

Although I think every intelligent person ought to be optimistic, I am inclined to think that there was never before such a promise of sloughing off the false ideas which make the race problem of the world so ominous. Take, for example, the prevailing ideas about Negro criminality. It is based upon the statistics of Negroes in jail, but modern criminology has demonstrated that criminality is inextricably associated with social conditions, and that when the social conditions have been resolved to comparable formulas, excessive Negro criminality becomes a myth. It was the science of criminology and not direct consideration of race problems that cleared up this matter. And so it is that biology, psychology, anthropology and sociology are simply taking out the props from under the most popular myths with regard to the difference between races. It is merely psychoanalysis applied on a large scale.

REPORT OF DISCUSSION COMMITTEE ON THE INTERRACIAL MOVEMENT

Chairman: The Discussion Committee will report through Dr. Bond, its Chairman:

1. The Committee was interested in the idea which seemed to center on some given interest of the student body, forgetting for the time being that

one group is a member of one race and another group is a member of another race. The idea commends itself to the Committee, that these meetings which disregard all kinds of distinction and call attention to the common problems of the student body, must be helpful and should be encouraged.

2. The Committee wishes to raise the question whether it would be a wise thing for this interracial work to concentrate only on race relations between white and black races in this country. You can think of reasons probably, why that should be done. We have a background; we have some tradition, some history, and if we should concentrate on this problem between us and solve it in the right way—in a way that is agreeable to the white and black people—then we would have a basis for the solution of the problems that affect other races in their relations. The Committee would like to have an expression of opinion on that point.

3. Dr. Alexander said the genesis of the interracial commission is an idea—not rules and regulations. We note, therefore, that an interracial commission in the state or community grows out of and is made necessary because of interracial relations in local communities, and the organization grows out of the work instead of having the work grow out of the organization. That cannot be too strongly stated.

4. We wish to call attention also to the importance of interracial committees and interracial work to prevent misunderstandings and outbreaks rather than to stop something after it has started. The way to prevent race riots in Cincinnati or Chicago, is not to try to do it after they have started. Way back, two or three years ago we began to remove the causes of friction. A better understanding has been restored over and over again in the work throughout the South. The big work of the interracial committee and commissions is not to put out the fire after it has started, but to prevent the fire starting. Time and time again we have had that experience. Remove the cause of friction and you have peace.

5. Your Committee is of the opinion that there can never be harmony as long as there are glaring inequalities and injustice with one group or another, facing us in this or any other community. Justice, therefore, is the one basis of interracial good will and coöperation.

Chairman: We have now 25 minutes for questions and discussion of this report.

INTERRACIAL PROBLEMS ARE WORLD-WIDE

Rev. Henry S. Leiper (New York City): We get the impression (at least I do) that the line of progress is definitely along the path of directing attention to the fact that these racial prejudices and mob prejudices are universal and not specifically confined to one group. From the Committee's report, we get the thought about specifically centering our attention on one problem between white and black in this country, and then attacking the larger problem. It has been my privilege to live in China and during that time I spent considerable time working on the interracial feeling between the Japanese and Chinese. I had considerable experience in Korea where there is considerable feeling between the Koreans and the Japanese. I have been back in this country for two years and a large part of that time I have been dealing with the interracial prob-

lems between Indians and Americans, Chinese and Japanese and Americans, and between white and Negro Americans. I do not want to cast reflection on the Committee's report, but until we get hold of the problem in its universal aspect, we will deal with only one phase and we will get lopsided in our thinking. We will not fit ourselves for the interracial movement of the world. This race feeling is gaining all over the world today; if we would deal with it in a statesmanlike manner, we must deal with it as it is. My colored brother, whose family has been here perhaps before the Mayflower, I find looks down on the Kingston Negro; a Japanese said to me, "We always look down on a Chinese."

Dr. Bond: In several phases, the Negro suffers as no other race suffers. I saw a Filipino the other day, much darker than I am, go into a hotel where I could not go. The largest hotels are open to him; he goes where he wants and there is a different attitude. We have to face that condition. The Japanese and Chinese do not suffer as we do. They can come here and go to your best hotels. There is a distinction.

Mr. Chase: As has been said, the race problem is universal, and we have to face this. Two years ago we had Miss Crogman come and put on her wonderful pageant. We had 2000 people come to the theater and see it, sitting side by side, colored and white. Roland Hayes came and white and colored came to hear him. We are wondering whether we should take the next step and we want your advice. We were wondering if the next year we would not be ready to ask the different nations represented in our city to combine with the colored and white people, all making their contributions, and work out a pageant formed by different nations and races, to contribute to one great big picture of America. We were wondering, if the colored people fitted themselves into that picture, if it would not be a large contribution.

Dr. Haynes: In New York four years ago we put on a pageant *America's Making.* The only difficulty was financing. We put it on in a large armory and it was a tremendous gorgeous pageant which caught the attention of the newspapers even weeks and months beforehand. It included a Negro pageant with those of many other racial and national groups. In Chicago they put on a play called *Fingerprints,* which was performed by about 500 white and colored amateurs and had a fine effect in bringing together white and colored people. The play was written by a playwright who had quite a little experience in those things, and was repeated in several of the large churches with fine results.

Mr. Frazier: It seems to me if we are going to concern ourselves

with the solution of these problems, it would be well to tackle one at a time. The Japanese have an ambassador at Washington; they have a pretty good sized army and navy. The Chinese are pretty well represented too. The Indian is not so well taken care of. When I left Atlanta I came pretty near being put out of a Pullman. I feel, selfishly, that you ladies and gentlemen might begin by concerning yourselves with my safety as I might be put out of one going back. The Negro is the most despised of all races in the United States, and we might as well face the truth. As I traveled in the South a former student cautioned me as soon as I got there to please be careful of what I say. It seems to me America's chief problem is to bring civilization into relation to the Negro.

Dr. Miller: I agree with the last speaker that we should take up these problems one at a time. The students at Ohio State got into this same difficulty in beginning our interracial forum. We all know the condition the Negro faces and the opinion some white people have of the Negro. It seemed to the executive committee of the forum, there must be some reason for this; whether or not this reason is on a firm basis remains to be seen, but there must be some reason why the Japanese goes into the big hotels and the Negro cannot. I wanted to bring the problem before the forum for discussion, and the problem we brought was "What is the cause of racial misunderstanding?" We received many comments and we had many solutions offered. If there is racial misunderstanding, there must be a cause and by correcting these causes we can work it out.

Rev. J. S. Belboder (Dayton, Ohio): It seems to me Dr. Miller is asking for some place to attack the question. It is very good that he gave us the question and we should consider it. I am wondering, however, if it is possible for us to do very much before we die? A lifetime is so short and this particular condition has existed so long and is so deeply engraved on the hearts and minds of the people. What shall we do? I think this: That we should begin now to train the children who are coming on to the awful condition that exists. If we can get teachers and school boards to realize the injustice that exists and teach the children that they must not practice these things, we shall be doing a wonderful thing. Will white people who represent this movement be willing to go to the heads of the educational boards in the different communities and get them to transmit this information we have now? Will they be willing to convert the teachers to practice a new discipline with the children they have to teach? The children are the ones who directly inherit a major part of the problem.

Mr. Ackley: It is just as foolish to try to settle the problems of race between white and black as it is to save all the people of the United States by sending foreign missionaries. The Japanese in the West is perhaps as badly treated as is the Negro in the South. The principle on which that might be settled is not the same, the traditional reasons for the prejudices are different. I was thinking how California could settle its race problem and it came to me on the instant that it could in the way we do in the South. If you will try to think without prejudice what some other nations have had to go against and then apply them to your own South or North you might be able to feel less prejudicial than you do. I feel unless we think of it together we will not be able to think of it straight and clearly. It is perfectly all right for an interracial committee to confine itself to the problem between white and Negro, but for us as students to confine ourselves so is illogical and unchristian. I think we ought to take the church's viewpoint.

Chairman: The Chair cannot see such a great difference between the speakers and the Committee. Dr. Miller and Mr. Leiper talked about a universal problem and the Committee talked about a place to begin. But is it not true that if we recognize it as a universal problem, we shall be wiser as to the place to begin? Is it not true that this is a problem we have to handle together? That is the point of this afternoon's meeting—the growth of the interracial movement.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION ON

IV. THE MOVEMENT TOWARD INTERRACIAL COOPERATION *

1. The Y. W. C. A. Student Department interracial staff now serves schools and colleges of both races.
2. The city Y. W. C. A.'s are regarding all women and girls as their responsibility.
3. White and Negro students are trying to solve problems by forums and other contacts.
4. Interracial committees and commissions are not mere organization mechanism; they are results of a spirit; of ideas. They are formed not for talk but for mutual action on well-planned programs; doing things together changes racial attitudes.
5. Kentucky State Y. M. C. A. fostered the State Interracial Commission and county committees; the two organizations are still affiliated though independent. The Commission has carried a state-wide welfare program for full justice to Negro citizens. County committees have prevented several lynchings.
6. Indianapolis, Ind., combined two interracial committees, started independently, into one organization, enlarging it by added representatives under the Council of Social Agencies. The Committee has studied its problems and is working out a program.

* Prepared by Dr. George Edmund Haynes.

7. Colored people have as large a contribution to make to race relations as white people.
8. Race problems are world-wide, universal. We should recognize them as universal but see that the place for us to begin solution is in our own local communities.

Chapter V

SOCIAL AGENCIES AND RACE RELATIONS *

Chairman: We turn now to the topic *Social Agencies and Race Relations* and I will call on Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr., Atlanta, Ga., as Chairman of the Committee in charge of this topic to take guidance of the discussion.

Dr. Woofter: There's not much danger of running out of discussion on a topic as wide as this. Before I announce the topics to you, I want to say two things as to our attitude toward social agencies and the significance of the social agencies in their bearing on racial adjustments. We have a complex on the words "race problem" and want to get rid of it. We have more or less agreed in this. Every time a concrete situation came up there has been no disagreement as to what to do, but only disagreement on how to do it. The job now is to discuss the tasks and work out ways and means of getting them accomplished. This is true of social agencies as well as other phases of the program. The main thing about a social agency is that you are dealing with the most direct fundamental approach to the human heart. When you get a human heart roused and focusing on these things, you are accomplishing something. We need always to put forth the humanitarian side rather than the social. For instance, the child appeals to the heart rather than to the mind.

THE COMMUNITY VIEWPOINT

The second thing is this: In dealing with these humanitarian institutions we must get into our minds the fact that we are not trying to benefit the colored people but the community. The humanitarian aspect needs to be met, and when met, it will benefit all the people in the community and our communities can hold up their heads in pride. In other words, our job, through social agencies, is to get as far away from race as we can in the consideration of these tasks of housing, child welfare and so on, and look at them as social tasks involving the whole community.

What is the first step? Napoleon told us there are many poor colonels but no poor regiments. The same thing is true of social

* Thursday, March 26, 3:45 P. M. Miss Mary Van Kleeck, presiding.

organizations—many poor leaders but very few poor social organizations. The whole aspect of any humanitarian organization depends on the personality of the people back of it.

THE NEGRO SOCIAL WORKER

Mrs. Gordon: In this particular leadership into which colored women and colored social workers have recently come, there is no end of opportunity. You will pardon, I am sure, if I mention one fact—and I speak from experience in the Philadelphia Department of Public Welfare—I have had erased from my mind fear as to the approach of the human being as a social worker with race prejudice removed. As you approach the work in the social agency there need be no fear, for the people who are helping are not looking to the color but to the quality of the thing you can do.

We have been asked in our work to handle cases of Italians and Jews and others, side by side with the white investigators. Helping to relieve others, serving others, we learn to serve our own race. We have had no friction in the type of service we have been able to render. In most of the agencies you will come across problems that turn on the Municipal Court and the question of neighborhood quarrels, out of which develop, in America, so many race riots. If the proper kind of leadership is placed in social agencies they take hold of it properly, and there has never been an occasion where it has not been stopped. Sometimes it has been only the nicknaming of a race—the very smallest things bring about a neighborhood quarrel.

Mr. Frazier: I want to say something about the effort in the South to train for a certain type of leadership. We have had examples where the Probation Judge appointed his colored chauffeur as a probation officer and in Mobile on one occasion they took the cook of the white probation officer and made her a colored probation officer. In 1920 a group of social workers in New Orleans saw it would be necessary to educate social workers in the South; those educated in the North seldom come South. For the last three years we have had a forum for interracial coöperation under the management of the school. We have been promised some money for the coming year to further our work, provided we raise the same amount. This school attempts to develop a definite kind of leadership in the South, otherwise the white people would pick out any ignorant type of colored woman to do social work or any "Uncle Tom" type of man. The Atlanta School of Social Work represents an achievement on the part of colored and white people in the schools and social agencies and the interracial commission.

A Voice: May I ask Mr. Frazier one question? Do you think you will be able to get those people who have been appointing cooks and chauffeurs to accept the trained colored social worker?

Mr. Frazier: I do.

EQUAL PAY FOR WHITE AND NEGRO SOCIAL WORKERS

Chairman: The next topic for discussion is, Giving the White and Negro Workers of Similar Rank the Same Remuneration.

Miss Frances Williams: I want to speak about trained workers. We have workers who are trained to meet the same requirements but when it comes to salary, it is different. We are still handicapped with the thought that it does not take as much money for colored people to live as white. There is a different standard in salaries. They say you should not talk about money, but it does create a different attitude. Why should a person with the same qualifications do that for five, which another does for ten dollars?

Mr. Plaskett: Does not the question of salary vary in different places? City organizations can pay big salaries; country persons get small salaries. Does not the question of salary depend on the worker and where he works? Some get more and some get less, according to the particular locality in which they work. Isn't that true?

Miss Howell: Our community finds in executive positions, due to the scarcity of colored workers, it is necessary to pay higher salaries to the colored worker than to the white.

Mr. Lee: As far as I know, both the colored social workers and colored nurses do not receive less salary than the corresponding positions paid to the white people. I think they have a scale they go on. I know there is one colored worker in an institution that receives the highest salary next to the executive officer of the institution.

Chairman: This question of salaries in social work is not so much racial but a very big problem of getting recognition from Boards of Directors and spreading knowledge as to the value of trained social work. We have to develop appreciation on the part of the community of the need for trained social workers. The training schools are doing a great deal in that direction. Mr. Lee will continue with the topic.

Mr. Lee: I think this question has a great deal to do with the temper of the community. Indianapolis, as I heard Mr. Robinson say one time relative to Cincinnati, is a northern city with a southern exposure. We have a number of southern white people there. We

have to take that into consideration. If your community is lenient you can get a great deal further by way of placing colored people both upon boards and staffs of social agencies than you can where there is a sentiment against that sort of thing.

Then, too, there are great feelings as to working *for* the colored by the white instead of working *with* them. May I give one illustration of a case in one point? The architects have drawn a plan, and the bid has been made for a new high school situated in the colored section, known as the Colored High School. Our high school students have attended the regular high schools thus far. We approached that question with the powers that be, asking that the colored people have something to say as to whether they should be segregated in a high school—give them some opportunity to have some share in saying whether their children should go in high schools that would be fitted with colored teachers, or whether they would be forced by the school board to go into the Colored High School. There is a big question as to whether we are to do the things for the colored people, issue edicts and expect them to obey, or whether we work and coöperate with them.

They have no share in the discussions and plannings of the various social work and programs of the city. It seems to me there is a growing feeling of responsibility upon the part of colored leaders in the community in which I am acquainted. With that feeling of growing responsibility it seems to me they are equipping themselves more and more adequately to take the places of responsibility upon boards of management. It seems to me where colored people are involved the least we can do is to have colored representation in proportion to the percentage of population on the boards, so that the colored people can be brought into the discussion. White people cannot understand unless they come into the close relation of mutual discussion relative to these many problems that come up in connection with social work among colored people. This is just as true about the workers.

This would be equally true in almost every situation where colored people are involved, that they ought to have the benefits of workers of their own race so they can get into the closest possible relationship in order to do the task adequately. If we are going to meet the tasks, we must both have representation upon our boards of control and upon our staffs where the social worker has to deal with the colored people in any given community.

STAFFS OF AGENCIES SHOULD BE INTERRACIAL

Chairman: I now call on Mr. John Chase of Youngstown, Ohio.

Mr. Chase: Welfare Agencies! Just think how many there are. Here is a Big Brother and Sister organization which is one great big group of welfare agencies and over here is another big group, and in another place a big group dealing with the mass of people, Camp-fire girls, playground associations. What is the big thing that we as interracial people can contribute to them, helping them carry forward in the fine spirit that is maintained? It seems to me, in the first group, individuals on the staffs very rarely are colored people, and they should have them. In our city, for instance, we have Allied Councils, and they have Jewish, Catholic and Protestant, but no colored. Why should that be? On all the staffs dealing with individual groups we should have colored people. Most of us belong to the leading groups in our own cities and when we go back we ought to go to our community chest boards and others and say to them we want on these agencies dealing with individuals representation from the colored group, if you have representation from Jews and Catholics and other foreigners.

We set up institutions manned entirely by colored people and isn't that just as bad as being manned entirely by white people from our interracial point of view? Is it not a danger we are facing now that great big institutions, educated, highly cultured, will establish in brick and mortar and petrify on through the ages our segregation? Is it not true? You say you want staffs of colored people—want to give them jobs and put up colored Y. M. C. A.'s. You say it will relieve a lot, but is it not petrifying the real, fundamental thing we do not want? They will say, if we do not do that, we cannot do anything. We claim it is wrong. What we ought to do is to place on our staffs white and colored in proportion to the neighborhood; in a neighborhood where three-fourths are colored, have three-fourths colored on the staff and one-fourth white.

Chairman: Let me remind you what was said about the policy of the Y. W. C. A. in having colored women appointed on the regular staff and the directing board, and participating in all the work.

John A. Green (Dayton, Ohio): Our family welfare work is gradually taking on colored workers that are working with colored groups. In our Juvenile Court we have colored workers; in the visiting housekeeper's work we have colored workers. We have had no colored worker until recently in the Associated Charities. We are working in colored workers as we feel they are more sympa-

thetic and get better points of attack with our own people than the white women.

Dr. Woofter: I would like to see a show of hands from those communities where colored people are employed as visiting housekeepers. (Many hands raised.) It looks as though there are many.

Chairman: We must stop this discussion now and have the address which is on the program and then the report of the committee. I will now call on Mr. James H. Robinson, executive Secretary of the Negro Civic Welfare Ass'n, Department of the Community Chest and Council of Social Agencies, Cincinnati, Ohio, who will give the address on this topic. Mr. Robinson spoke in part as follows:

To my way of thinking, there are two general types of community problems, social and civic. Civic problems are those which are vitally related to citizenship in its larger sense. An effective approach to them may require the use of governmental machinery, as the public school, appeal to legislative enactment, law enforcement, the ballot or public funds raised through taxation. On the other hand, one may find it necessary to resort to such forces as industry, commerce and the press to deal with a civic problem.

On the other hand, there are the social problems which affect certain elements in the population rather than the population as a whole. Such problems can be handled by private philanthropy as opposed to public taxation. The supervision of day nurseries, the administration of relief, the operation of orphan asylums and children's homes, the maintenance of homes for the aged, and for working girls, community centers and settlement houses well indicate the nature of social problems and illustrate legitimate activities of social agencies. These two general classes of problems and activities, however, are not entirely distinct and unrelated. We commonly think of public agencies as hedged about by technical, legal restrictions and hence as inflexible. Experience has proved, however, that with social agencies leading the way public agencies can, within limits, bend and shape their policies in conformity to the wishes of social agencies insofar as their suggestions help rather than hinder the best interests of the community.

From the foregoing discussion it is easy to infer that social agencies are not only potent factors in dealing with social and civic problems in general but that they ought to be foremost in the adjustment of race relations. It is frequently said that every community has within it sufficient wisdom for the solution of its problems. Be this statement true or untrue, there is in every community a wealth of wisdom, skill, technique, experience, potential good will and even financial and material resources which could be used in the adjustment of race relations if they were but discovered and organized.

The first step then is to form a temporary community council or clearing house, representing as many interests and viewpoints in the community life and relationship as may be worthy of consideration. The church, the lodge, the press, the schools, women's clubs, the medical profession, courts, health departments, and private agencies, colored and white, dealing with any important phase of Negro life should be a part of this temporary council. This undertaking requires care, tact, good judgment, liberality. So many of us think of ourselves as the quintessence of wisdom and virtue that we are apt to discount and discredit others who lack our opportunities but who may nevertheless be factors in the life of the community.

The first object of this temporary community council is to make an inventory or survey of the life and conditions and resources of the com-

munity. Like all surveys it must have a purpose, and the purpose here is a rather general one. It may be summed up in the following questions: What are the outstanding problems of the community life as regards Negro welfare and race relations? What are the social, civic, educational, industrial, economic, and religious resources for meeting them? How can the interest of these forces be won and how organized and marshalled in the most effective attack on the problems?

Such a council may be able to afford an office and a paid worker, who should be assisted by as many volunteers as he can intelligently use. If it is not financially able to do this, appeal might be made to some established agency or organization to lend part time services of a paid worker.

Circumstances may make impossible anything other than a small inventory, but even this will be valuable if intelligently done. But whether elaborate or simple, it would want to answer such questions as the following: 1. Size of the Negro population and how it compares with other national and racial groups in numerical strength; 2. its tendency toward growth or decrease; 3. its distribution over various sections of the city; 4. kinds of houses occupied by Negroes and their availability; level of rents and prices, attitude of real estate men, banks, building associations and other tenants toward Negro tenants and home owners; 5. lines of work open to Negroes, working conditions, wages, the attitude of employers and other workmen toward them; 6. school and church facilities; 7. amusements and recreational facilities, public, private and commercial open to Negroes; 8. sanitary and health conditions; 9. delinquency and dependency; 10. politics and political influences; 11. migrant population, if any, and its problems of readjustment; 12. community leadership; 13. policies and attitudes of newspapers and public officials; 14. social agencies at work and their programs; 15. a program of betterment and reorganization to touch the most vital conditions and to make use of the best influences, forces and organizations on both sides of the color-line which might be interested.

The uninitiated will be surprised at the amount of good will and interest which the survey will awaken. School teachers, social workers, and club women may be readily interested in a house-to-house canvass. In our Cincinnati survey, for instance, not only did colored teachers help, but 359 white teachers made more than twenty thousand telephone calls to secure certain types of information scarcely obtainable in any other way. High school and university students can look up historical records, tabulate survey cards and compile statistics; various community organizations may offer endorsement, moral support and other practical assistance depending on the ingenuity of the leaders of the project to put them to work. Even the village know-alls, who are wont to parade their wisdom in the church meetings, on street corners, and in the barber shops may be invited into the council to match wits in the discussion of local conditions and how best to get at them.

After a substantial volume of information has been obtained and duly verified, much careful discussion should be given to drawing conclusions and formulating a program.

The Negro Civic Welfare Committee which made the survey became the Negro Civic Welfare Association, department of the Community Chest to plan, develop and coördinate a social service program for the Negro population as a whole. We believe it to be the country's first true clearing house and coördinating agency for Negro work and we try to teach the public to feel that it is their community council.

Our Board of Directors comprises forty members. Thirty of them are representatives of the agencies at work and ten are chosen at large. Accordingly we enjoy the counsel of persons, both colored and white, professional and non-professional, who have interest and experience in dealing with the problem. This Board of Directors is divided into ten committees whose work comprehends the scope of the Negro field. They are committees on 1. Relief

(for case and family welfare) and Institutional Care; 2. Housing and Health; 3. Economics (including thrift and industrial welfare); 4. Civics (implying citizenship and character building); 5. Education; 6. Recreation; 7. Child Welfare; 8. Social Service and the Church (recognizing the dominant position of the Church in Negro life); 9. Publicity and Research; 10. Administration (Executive Committee).

It is the function of these committees to study and understand each its own field of interest, to keep informed on what is going on in those fields, to prompt and encourage the same and to plan new work. The Executive Committee holds a final veto on all matters involving action and changes in policies. As a clearing house and coördinating agency our Association has no arbitrary or administrative control over the agencies affiliated with it. What it accomplishes is done by education and persuasion.

We have endeavored especially to reach the Negro leadership. We confer at times with the ministers as a group, and similarly, with doctors, representatives of women's clubs, of lodges and with the social workers of the various agencies. Our colored workers employed by various agencies, public and private, number fifty-five and two years ago we organized them into an advisory group, thus giving them a larger interest in the work than that of mere employees.

No single person or organization is a competent authority on all social problems and policies but if one knows how to consult the best advice of the community he will be able to act wisely on the important questions that come up from time to time. If I were asked what groups should be consulted, I should name the following general classes: 1. Social, meaning professional leaders in social work. 2. Civic, including the legal profession, political leadership, government and civil service employees, editors, and women's clubs. 3. Commercial, the business men. 4. Industrial, the labor leaders. 5. Educational, the teaching profession and representatives of educational boards. 6. Medical doctors, dentists, pharmacists, nurses, hospital representatives. 7. Ecclesiastical, the ministry.

In consulting these groups one frequently gets more than advice and moral support. It is possible to get active service. In our own city there are many women's clubs and we desired to have them assist us actively in our work. We first approached them with a rather ambitious program but it was general and vague, and we had but little success. We analyzed our experience. We concluded that we had talked over the heads of the good women and that we needed an appeal more concrete and human to reach them. Among the homeless men that drifted into our midst that winter was a picturesque character from Missouri, aged 87, an ex-slave, full of superstitions, stories, quaint maxims and not a bad fellow at all—just homeless. Again we called the women together and told them the story; how we wanted to place him in the Old Men's Home but lacked the initiation fee. Seventy-seven clubs contributed five dollars each and thereafter their presidents met and advised with us monthly on the work as a whole. Many of them were looking for something useful to do, and we were pleased to pass them on to the individual clubs, later recognizing services rendered and incidentally commending the club. In the matter of community organization we believe that the Negro is already highly organized and that better results can be obtained by recognizing his natural organizations and working with them than by continually creating new artificial organizations.

What we have done during Health Week well illustrates the work which we have been able to do in a more general way in enlisting the interest of social agencies in Negro work. In 1918 there were five colored social agencies in the Community Chest and only a few white agencies interested in Negro work. At the conclusion of our survey we persuaded the Community Chest to admit our Orphan Asylum for Colored Children, Crawford Old Men's Home and Home for Aged Colored Women into the financial federation. This was done and these three agencies have made good our

promise to the Community Chest, that their own pride and appreciation for the help received, as well as their increased financial ability, would prompt and enable them to raise their general standard of service. Our Home for Aged Colored Women, in fact, sent a committee to request admission. When we explained the impossibility of maintaining a first class institution in the building then occupied by them, they purchased, on their own initiative and responsibility, a suitable building which they now occupy. In other words, we brought them face to face with the challenge of higher standards and they accepted it. This in a nutshell, is what all our colored social agencies have done. The general effect of it has been to increase the confidence of the Chest and the social agencies in our Association and the colored agencies.

Among other things, the work of our three children's institutions, then seriously over-lapping, was cleared, each commissioned with a specific part of the child welfare work, and a program of child placing begun. The Better Housing League already at work was induced to extend its program into the Negro community and a zealous worker was recommended to them. At the present time they are employing three white visiting housekeepers and four colored, the latter visiting about fifteen hundred colored homes last year. I believe that such agencies will not only want to help but will want the benefit of the best advice as to what they shall do; if they succeed by following such advice, confidence grows and they will be willing to do still more. It will be necessary to encourage them from time to time and a certain amount of friendly and constructive criticism will frequently prove helpful. After seven years of such work today we can boast of twenty-eight social agencies working with us in Negro work, sixteen white and twelve colored.

It has not always been easy to persuade social agencies to render service. In several instances they had to be shown, i.e., we had to make a demonstration of the plausibility of such a venture. Shortly after the World War we saw the need of industrial welfare work among women working in plants and factories. We employed a worker who at the end of a year had established a program in fifteen different concerns employing over 1,000 women, enjoying the confidence of employer and employee. She had opened some of these places for colored women; in others she had the privilege of doing all the placing while she was making adjustments, stimulating morale, and giving good advice on both sides. We had been unable previously to sell the Y. W. C. A. this program on paper; it was not a difficult matter to persuade them to take over a successful piece of work which included the interest of more than a dozen employers and more than 1,000 women.

Some of the largest contributors to the Community Chest are thus interested in our Negro work and so are a number of the leading social workers and thinkers in the city. As organized today our Association is not a perfect piece of machinery but it has functioned with effect. If technique and skill are needed, we have them among our social agencies. If the community opinion on any matter is needed we can consult it within about twenty-four to forty-eight hours and be sure that we have a conclusion behind which the leaders of our community are willing to stand and work.

Some one might plausibly ask: What has been the effect of all this work on race relations in Cincinnati? What would be the effect of such a clearing house or community council in any city?

First of all, let me say that as a piece of work in Negro welfare we cannot escape the conviction, that had no white people been concerned in it at all, race relations would have been improved. Can it be possible that an improvement in the social and moral well-being of one group will not call forth a better regard for it on the part of another group? I believe that one of the fundamental causes of violent manifestations of race prejudice in America is the mere fact of racial contact under unfavorable circumstances and the unpleasant experiences growing out of it.

In a community clearing house like ours, where the best people of both races of a community are brought together, there is an absence of unpleasant experiences. By virtue of their willingness to meet and confer, each recognizes the humanity and the worth of the other, so that here we have race relations on a different plane. Each sees the other giving honest consideration to some problem which is of concern to both. The natural result is confidence, mutual respect and fellow feeling.

Eight years ago a Negro social worker coming into the field found himself seriously questioned. Many persons were unwilling to sit down and confer with him. In other words, Negro leadership was not sold to the white community. Today white people who want to start anything which touches in a vital way the Negro community will not only listen to the advice of Negro leadership but will go out and seek it. All cities, our own included, have experienced their share of incompetent leadership. I refer to the Negro who gains the favor of white people but makes no real contribution of intelligent service to race relations and the community as a whole. Personality, of course, was ever and will ever be a real factor in human relations but with the standard of intelligence and efficiency generally required of social workers, none can successfully rest his case upon personality alone. This change in the standard of Negro leadership is in itself a factor of far-reaching effect in race relations.

In some instances our white agencies have forgotten race and thought only of service. In nearly all of them race has become a minor and service a major consideration. The Children's Home insists that it is not a home for white but for all children. So its workers are finding boarding homes and doing adoptive work for both white and colored children. The Children's Hospital is so busy doing service for all children that it was with difficulty that an investigator ascertained the number of colored children treated there. Community Service states in its report to us that its function is to conduct a recreational program for all Cincinnati. When personality and service demand larger consideration than race and color, race relations are on the mend.

REPORT OF THE DISCUSSION COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL AGENCIES AND RACE RELATIONS

Chairman: I will now call for the Report of the Discussion Committee through Dr. Woofter, its Chairman.

1. Humanitarian appeal of the social agencies offers the strongest approaches to interracial goodwill.
2. The paramount emphasis of the social welfare agencies should be upon the community rather than upon the race.
3. The necessary specialization on tasks of racial adjustment can be developed by a wise leadership. This leadership must be harmonious and must be selected with a view to the quality of service that it is able to render.
4. Our Committee feels that the colored social workers should be given training which will enable them to maintain the existing standard of the profession and that the importance of training for social work as a profession be utilized by the young colored people.
5. We are pleased to note an increasing tendency to pay the same basic salary to both white and colored workers who do the same type of work and urge that this practice become universal.
6. The colored situation cannot be best served unless there is a representation of the colored people on the governing boards of the welfare institutions, and unless there are colored members on the staff.

Dr. Jernagin: I want to commend that part of the report which says the humanitarian approach is the better in our work. I find that is true. To be truthful about it, until 1919 I was just a little the other way. I was in Paris during the Peace Conference when the Irish question was stirred up and I was asked by an Irishman what my organization was doing in America to help the Irish. Truth to tell, I had never thought of helping the Irish. I said, "Really, nothing; the Irish I have come in contact with have not shown any disposition to help me, and I have not thought about it." He replied, "That's a question you ought to take up; you ought to help the Irish question then, and it would help you." I found thirty different countries represented there with people having struggles; I was in contact with Jews and others who almost always put the same question, and it has broadened my vision. I came back to my organization and said, "We must begin to help with the troubles of other people, and it will give us a viewpoint on how to approach our own troubles." Jews, Catholics and myself have been on close terms for three years.

Chairman: We shall have to stop the discussion, and in closing it, I would like to express appreciation. I do not think that this Chairman has ever presided over a meeting where the speakers said so much in so short a time and coöperated so well in keeping the discussion within the time limit.

Dr. Haynes: I did not present Miss Van Kleeck, the Chairman, at the beginning of this session, and think it is well to do so at the close. She is the Director of the Department of Industrial Studies, Russell Sage Foundation. During the War she was director of the Women in Industry Service, now The Women's Bureau, of the U. S. Department of Labor. She has done remarkable work in stimulating study of women in industry and in bringing about a new point of view in the relations between employer and employee. It has been a great help and privilege to have her here.

(Motion was made and carried that a rising vote of thanks be given Miss Van Kleeck for her courteous efficiency in presiding. Whereupon with a closing prayer the session adjourned at 5:30 P. M.)

SUMMARY OF THE DISCUSSION ON

V. SOCIAL AGENCIES AND RACE RELATIONS *

1. Social agencies need more and more to take the community viewpoint and emphasize race less and less. Their boards and staffs should be interracial where two races reside.
2. Negro social workers are employed on staffs of general social agencies in some communities, thus making them interracial.

* Prepared by Dr. George Edmund Haynes.

3. The demand for Negro social workers is growing in the South. A School of Social Work for Negroes is being developed at Atlanta, Ga. Increasing numbers of Negro students are seeking training in northern schools.
4. Negro social workers should be expected to conform to the same standards as the white and when they do should receive equal pay. Rising standards of social work must be applied without regards to race.
5. Community interracial councils or committees should represent many interests and varied viewpoints of the community. They should study their problems and plan programs.
6. In many instances white agencies have forgotten race and thought mainly of service.
7. As the Negro helps other struggling groups he will find increasing sympathy.

Chapter VI

THE CHURCH AND RACE RELATIONS *

Chairman: We will stand and sing one verse of *America.* (The conference as a whole stood while singing.) The Rev. Dr. Oxley will lead us in prayer.

Dr. E. N. Oxley (Cincinnati, Ohio): Oh, Eternal God, the Father of our country and humanity, we thank Thee for this blessed privilege and opportunity of meeting together in mutual conference for the exchange of ideas. We know that without recognizing Thee as the Father of us all, there can be no solution of any problem that will be just and far-reaching in its consequences, and so we come to Thee in the full recognition of Thy eternal sovereignty over the affairs of men.

Give us humble hearts that we may approach truth in the spirit of those who would learn. Give us willing minds that, after discovering that truth, we may have the strength of Thee to go forward in the path which leads to justice and peace and good-will. Strengthen those who are standing for right and justice everywhere. Give us united forces for the uplift of our common humanity. Help us more and more to study these various problems with an unbiased mind.

Bless the deliberations of this conference and its officers. Help those in their committees to find truth. Give us clearness of vision so that out of this great conference may come a new approximation of the value of common human life. Enable us to bring about in our commonwealth a united citizenship among all peoples. And Thine shall be the glory and the peace now and forever more. Amen.

Chairman: One of the delightful things about being chairman of this conference is that no responsibility devolves upon the chairman except to introduce those who are doing the work. Dr. Townsend, whose name appears on the program, is not able to be with us, but Mr. Judson J. McKim, the General Secretary of the Metropolitan Y. M. C. A. in Cincinnati, is to take Dr. Townsend's place as chairman of the Discussion Committee, and I count it a privilege to present to you this evening Mr. McKim, who will lead the open forum discussion on *The Church and Race Relations.*

Mr. McKim (Cincinnati, Ohio): Now, it has impressed me, as I

* Thursday, March 26, 7:10 P.M. W. T. Paterson, D.D., Moderator-elect, Presbytery of Cincinnati, presiding.

have looked over this program that the representatives of the Federal Council of Churches have practiced a rather unnecessary bit of self-abnegation. But I rather have the feeling that after all is said and done we are now beginning to step into the very heart of this thing about which we have been talking for a day and a little over.

RELIGION AT HEART OF RACE PROBLEMS

I believe it is the heart of the thing because in a statement recently made by an executive of the Community Chest of one of our metropolitan cities it was indicated that seventy-five per cent of the social agencies that were in the chest had their origin either directly or indirectly in the Christian church. And we use that as a comprehensive term. I rather feel that those who are finding their life work, who give expression to their life desires in social service, discover they are indebted in a measure perhaps which they do not realize to the ministrations of the church.

Professor Ellwood, that talented sociologist of the University of Missouri, said in his book, which no doubt some of you have read, *Reconstruction of Religion,* that history fails to endure after it has ceased to be guided strongly by the hand of religion. Now, if this thing about which we are talking deals with the progress of civilization, then this dynamic thing concerning which we are now to speak becomes in reality the very heart of the thing, for it deals with the questions of the attitude of heart and mind.

I am rather inclined to believe that we all would agree with the fact, as we think it over soberly, that this is something more than a problem between the white man and the black man. Some twenty-five years ago I happened to be in the anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania, and I discovered there the attitude of mind on the part of the Welsh- and English-speaking miner towards the Slav, who was coming into that territory at that time, injecting his personality and life into the mining work, which was identical with the things which I have discovered later in certain communities in certain relationship between the white and the black.

And I rather think there is a need for all of us to take this further fact into consideration: That in certain sections of this country we are now in danger of adopting a fundamental and certain materialistic philosophy which tells us that the only thing that man needs to make him good and great and strong and beautiful is environment. We recognize that environment has its place. That it is necessary for people to be contented; that it is necessary for them to have health in order that they may enjoy life. We also recognize the fact that in

order that this life may get its fullest there needs to be placed into that life this dynamic which we speak of as religion.

And as we come to this question of *The Church and Race Relations,* may I refer to one idea that was expressed this afternoon, as far as it relates to Christian associations, both to Christian associations or expressions of church life? They do not enjoy being classified with groups which are not essentially religious. Their lives are integrated with the church group. They fall if it falls. They rely upon its strength. The Christian associations do not include all of the church, but the church includes all of the Christian associations. So, as we come to speak tonight of this question of relationship of the church and the race problem, we trust that you will bear this in mind and think of us also as a part of this particular field.

In opening our discussion on the question of the relations of church to the race problem, the Committee felt that they would like to limit their discussions to one or two problems. They had the thought that the thing that would be wholesome for us for a moment or two would be to limit the field entirely to the concrete, the field which we have been interested in, that we should measure our thoughts and think for a moment along the lines of idealism.

Those who were in attendance at the Foreign Missions Convention of the United States and Canada held at Washington, D. C., last month came back telling us that there was one name which was more on the lips of those who were present at that great conference than any other name with the one exception of the name of the Master himself, and that was the name of Gandhi, that man who, Roland, his biographer, has said, has done more to interpret the spirit of God to man than any other man for nearly two thousand years. Your Committee was rather anxious to discover what it is that Gandhi has which makes his interpretation of life so interesting, so complete, so unusual. This great race problem which was considered at the Washington Convention in a way becomes the great struggle point, the great battle point of the Christian forces throughout the world, for we were very frankly told at the Washington Conference that unless America could discover the means or point the way upon which this thing could be worked out, she need have little hope of interesting the nations of the Orient in adopting those things which she herself was discarding or, at least, not putting into practice.

WHAT IS THE CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD RACE PROBLEMS?

The first question which we want to leave with you for discussion is: What do you consider should be the Christian attitude of mind toward the problem of race relationships?

S. Joe Brown (Des Moines, Iowa): Out at Des Moines about a month ago we put on a little experiment that possibly most of you heard about, that we called Religious Life Emphasis Week, in which we attempted to put before the nominal Christian people of our city the fact that on this question they must either accept the doctrine of brotherhood of man or reject the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God.

Mr. Eleazer: I think I would include at least five elements in my definition; I would like to put it this way: That the Christian take the attitude of brotherliness and neighborliness toward the man of any other group, which involves first, the realization that he is my neighbor who most needs me, as well as he is most likely to need me. That would apply to men and women in any group. It would involve the relationship of not judging groups as we do. Jesus told us that nobody should judge. We should judge in terms of the best in that group, in terms of those who are on the highest level.

And then the neighborly attitude; that is, of the man having consciously in his mind an adequate perspective. If he keeps in mind the different groups and has perspective, I think the man who truly has that neighborly attitude toward other groups will insist upon having in his life friendships which carry him across these different racial lines.

Mr. ———: I find myself at a loss to answer a question like this, the definition of what should be or is the Christian attitude. I think ninety-nine out of a hundred people would say, "Of course we are going to be brothers." But the question is this, having decided that is the definition of brotherhood, what shall be the attitude? I have this suggestion, Shall we be Negroes first then Christians, or shall we be Christians first and then Negroes? The Christian attitude is that we should be Christians first. To put the question the other way, Shall we be Nordics and Anglo-Saxons first and then Christians, or Christians first and then Nordics and Anglo-Saxons?

Rev. W. C. Orton (Louisville, Ky.): The Christian attitude of mind should be one of charitableness towards the vices and virtues of all others.

Mr. McKim: That is good. Does anybody want to improve on that?

Mrs. Gordon: Shall we say with Paul, "I am debtor to both the wise and the unwise?"

Dr. Oxley: The attitude of the Christian to race relationship should be the attitude of a Christ mind. What would Christ do? I think Christ would say and that we are all agreed, "They are neither bond nor free."

C. H. James (Charleston, W. Va.): The attitude of the Christian mind, it seems to me, is that we should do justice—"Do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

HOW TO PUT CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES IN OPERATION

Mr. McKim: The next question is, How are we going to put these principles in operation? We have got our attitude defined. Tell us how we are going to get these principles into operation as far as the churches are concerned.

Mr. Orton (Louisville, Ky.): By practicing what we preach. If we should practice in the southland and in the northland the straight teachings of the gospel, there would be a solution of all the vexing questions that excite us.

When we shall have learned more of each other it will be easy for us to be charitable toward each other. I used to criticize the white man's religion and say he didn't have any, but when I studied history of the times through which he has come and his training for many years, I am more charitable toward him than I used to be.

Dr. B. F. McWilliams (Toledo, Ohio): Sometimes in digging a tunnel it is wise to begin at both ends and work toward the center. I think this attitude of race relations can be arrived at if we begin first with the individual and simultaneously with the machinery of the churches, after that the denomination and denominational machinery. We must receive and meet the individual, and because he does not have control of his own machinery sometimes we must begin with those who do.

Mr. McKim: May I suggest that from now on we would like concrete suggestions. We started out with idealism. Let us leave that for the time being and come now directly to some concrete suggestions as to how we can put these principles into operation.

Dr. Haynes: As the matter has struck me, it has started my mind along this line of thinking; it seems to me that more and more the church, which is the institution to propagate religion, must come to realize that the man who goes out into business is going to be practicing religion or the other thing as much as any one else. Perhaps I could make it clearer if I give an illustration from the field of foreign missions. I happened to be on the committee to make plans for the last student volunteer convention. We spent considerable time discussing whether or not we should have presented to that convention the fact that those who went to foreign lands representing the political arms of our Government or representing commercial houses were about as potential for the gospel as regular mis-

sionaries; if we could get men with ideals of Christ who would go in those capacities, we would send men about as potential for carrying the gospel to lands which did not have it, as men sent out by the missionary societies. The great difficulty today is representatives of government and representatives of business have such relations and dealings with the natives of those lands so different from the relations and dealings of the missionaries.

It seems to me that is similar to the situation we are in where the two races meet in America. We come daily in contact either with the men and the women represented by the white people who are in this meeting or with those who are prejudiced. White people come in contact with those types of Negroes such as we are here, but there are all the other types. There are all the types of white men clear on down to those who organize and mob, those who go out at night and mob and kill other people. Three-fourths of the contact is not between the good Christian-minded men and women of the two races. It is between the other types. It seems to me the only concrete, definite way by means of which the church—and if I understand this program, that is the reason for bringing us all here, under a commission of the church—that the church must more and more bring down into industry and down into health agencies, down into the rank and file of men, this idealism for which the church stands and make it function among all types of people and of activities.

Mr. James: I have in mind the circulation that will spread such propaganda as you are putting forth here. As Dr. Haynes has said, you are not getting in touch with ninety-five per cent of the people who need this, and you are not getting in touch with their class. Whatever we do here, we should have some medium of circulation to impress the public as to how they should do justice, do justice unto others, and let the public he impressed by that, and create public sentiment to do the same thing. It is useless for a few people to come in here and have the idea, and let that be all. The world does not do any good without having the public impressed with the idea of justice—"Do unto others justice." and let that go out and spread as we do business, and people will begin to read and learn after a while what this organization means and it will begin to have a psychological effect on them.

Chairman: Let's see if we can keep to our subject. The question is, How can we help the church? How can the church become concretely interested in this problem?

Dr. Cox: May I make just a few suggestions from the inside of one church? I called my Sunday School Board together and kept them for about an hour in the evenings recently discussing this

problem, and the relation of the Sunday School teachers to the race problem, and I have laid out as heavily as I can that part of their business as Christian teachers is to create this Christian attitude. Our Women's Home Missionary Society, as all the rest of them did in most of the churches, studied this relation last year. I suggested that they study not only out of a book, but that they get in touch with some of the best women of the colored people of our city, which they did, much to their amusement and delight and pleasure ever since then. The other thing I tried to do was to bring into my pulpit as often as I dared the best representatives of the race—Dr. Haynes has been there—and in that sense that they may see the individual.

Mrs. ———: I would like, as a member of this Committee, to bring up two points: First, the church is not measuring up to the great majority of the great questions, it is dodging the issue. Now, we know the Christian church will never have world power by going on this policy of dodging the great issues. If we love the church, we will have to drill into the Christian church the matter of facing the great issues that come before the nation as the prophets of old. They preached upon the issues of the day, and we have the same privilege. Second, we must create in our audiences a scientific attitude; we must train our people; we must train them to be willing to accept facts with a dispassionate point of view, regardless of whether those facts contribute to our self-respect or self-interest or not. Until we have created the best thought in dealing with the great interracial problems we will never get anywhere; we will never get any place.

Bishop Walls: The machinery of the denominations, as such denominations, all have some sort of official board organization by which they circulate propaganda, or by which they get over to the people anything that they propose, and that is regarded essential. And this seems not even to be a fifth wheel matter now in the church organization. We are satisfied with beautiful speeches and idealistic sermons, and probably not so much of that, but when it comes to the regular constitutional work when it comes to meeting the congregations and getting over to them from the official board headquarters all this matter, there is a great dearth perhaps in most cases, and no effort being made at all.

We had an illustration of how this may be done in a concrete way in the operation and the activity of the Woman's Council M. E. Church, South. The women of that denomination, on the question of lynching, were the first great voice from the southern women to

speak out in the way that was due; they influenced very largely the southern sentiment.

Local church federation coöperation is very necessary. At this time, since it is not being given to us from above, it is perhaps the only point of contact we have, and that is greatly neglected in the South. There are very few communities in the South where church organizations have any point of contact at all. It is very important, as was suggested in the committee meeting this afternoon, if that can be done, it should have the effect of forcing from below what ought to be begun from above.

Bishop Clement: It seems to me, in the final analysis, the practical thing to do is for the individual Christian, Negro or Anglo-Saxon, or what not, in his very large dealings with his fellow man of one race or the other, or both races, to exemplify the mind of Christ. If the laity, to say nothing of the pulpit, would live out the Christ mind and the Christ ideal, we would soon function. I believe that the church would go a long way if it could get the evangelistic field and the ministry along that line to take this question up. In these great evangelistic meetings, which are held in different sections of our country, it seems the evangelists themselves dodge the issue of preaching the full gospel. If the church, along that particular line, could get the evangelists, as they go out over this country, to preach the full gospel and not be afraid when they reach that section where some of the sins are glaring, and simply put it up to them through the gospel as to what the Lord would have us do in these matters, it would go a long way.

Chairman: It may not be known to delegates from outside the city of Cincinnati, that there is contiguous to the city of Cincinnati another city. Just about five miles from Fountain Square there is the city of Norwood of some thirty thousand, and the Globe-Wernicke bookcases which you are using in your homes or your studies came out of Norwood. I need not say all the playing cards you use, because you are not using them, but where you might find them used, came out of Norwood. There is one other article that came out of Norwood that I am very proud and very happy to present to you this evening, one of our former pastors of the Norwood Christian Church, who is now Secretary of the Board of Temperance and Social Welfare, Church of Christ (Disciples) of Indianapolis, Dr. Alva W. Taylor, who is to speak to us at this time on this topic. Dr. Taylor then spoke in part as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Friends: The church suffers the limitations of those mortals who make up its membership and control its destiny. The Kingdom of Heaven is the divine thing; the light of its truth shines through mortal

opaqueness in the life of the church. We are only broken lights. Even our ideals reflect the angular direction of our limited and biased minds; and narrow minds may be fired with a holy zeal. Swift said: "We have just enough religion to make us hate but not enough to make us love one another." When science comes to the rescue of narrow judgments with such long range hypotheses as that of the pro-Nordic school, or such half-baked dogmas as those of certain apostles of the psychological test, we can at least comprehend when little men turn the white cross of love into the fiery cross of hate.

If the church is a divine thing, then which church is it that is divine? Is divinity sectarian? Is God divided or multiplied? Who made the creeds that divide us? Who manages the ecclesiastical machinery that competes in missionary work? Who determines the terms of membership? Christ takes us all into His fellowship, but we will not fellowship one another. The divisions in a church whose gospel is one of unity and brotherhood is ample proof of its human limitations. We are creatures of small loyalties, of traditions, of social inertia. The divine image is in common clay, working out diviner forms, but let us beware of claiming divinity for our human attempts to realize on divine things.

We may liken the church to a school. In its membership are all grades from kindergarten ("babes in Christ") to post-graduates (apostles and prophets). From the lofty viewpoint of Christ's teachings on social issues, a no larger proportion get beyond the grades in this school than in those of our public school system. One of the speakers reminded us tonight of what the Old Testament prophets said; she might have reminded us also of what the Old Testament church did to them. There are prophets aplenty in our time. An occasion like this is a sort of foregathering of them. They are those who see wrongs done humanity by out-worn systems and vicious ways and take counsel of courage in attempting their tasks. They are not always popular and the official mortality among them is often quite large, but they make the future. We stone them with verbal stones to be sure, and that is some improvement over Isaiah's day, but we are not yet convinced that freedom to seek and to speak the truth, as God gives one to see it, is the safest road toward truth finding.

Moral dynamics faces a problem not unlike that faced by mechanical engineers. They are unable as yet to utilize more than a fraction of the power in a lump of coal or a boiler of water. There is a vast moral dynamic in our ideals and in the principles laid down by Jesus, but we are unable as yet to turn more than a fraction of it into moral power. The very democracy of the church makes effective social engineering difficult. Effective engineering requires executive authority as well as expert knowledge. If all leadership were sacrificial, as well as expert, we could entrust our programs to it. But even spiritual service is conveyed through mortal instruments, and the best of leaders disagree. We might invite Dr. Will Alexander to our city and arrange for a meeting of all races in one of our churches. The leaders might even do better than they did once there, and take all the Sunday school workers into a luncheon meeting to discuss the work of all the Sunday schools. Dr. Alexander would inspire the workers gathered there to high things, but after it was over our rank and file church democracy would probably assert its prejudices and forbid another such interracial luncheon and conference. We could not afford to abandon church democracy in order to overcome those limitations in idealistic service. We shall simply have to keep up our educational process and try to graduate more church members out of the grades.

It is a practical world that we deal with, even in the church, idealists though we are. The so-called "practical man" is rather proud of characteristics that we find a rather tough fabric for weaving into our idealistic patterns. But the history of moral progress is a story of the progressive assimilation of the ideal into the practical. This is illustrated by those who

held slaves during the past generation. My grandfather was one of them. He locked the cabin doors at night for he lived near the Ohio River, not far from the village where the first abolitionist journal was published. He looked upon the "underground railway" with about as much favor as Judge Gary looks upon labor unions. He was a strong, patriotic, law-abiding citizen when it came to demanding the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. He was a just and kindly man in dealing with individuals, but *his* Bible justified the institution of slavery. He also believed in predestination with a Scotch theological zeal, and he made as good corn whiskey as Kentucky boasted. It was not moonshine, for he could make it in the full light of the sun and with the approval of his wife, his pastor and the law of his day. To him an abolitionist was a fanatic and a prohibitionist an idealist. He had scripture to quote against both of them, and he was a good man. But idealism won, and so far as I know them every voting descendant of his is both a prohibitionist and a fundamental, little "d" democrat; most of them voted for La Follette. He was a pioneer, always following the blazed trail to the west, but the social gospel had no part in the religion of his day. When you put clean personal character and kindly personal tempers over into the wider and more impersonal relationships, you get an application of the social gospel. It is a widening of the moral horizon that is needed.

We are all acquainted with Benjamin Kidd's famous thesis that what is taught the youth of today will govern the social order tomorrow. He laid down another thesis that is quite as gratifying to the idealist and social reformer. It was that by keeping up the steady moral pressure of idealism, old customs and cruel systems are disintegrated and make way for the new, though the times and seasons of change are not easily seen and the battle against them runs strong. That is a comforting and encouraging thesis for the idealist and social reformer; he may be defeated and forgotten, but his ideals win. God is not on the side of the strongest battalions, but of truth and righteousness; only truth and righteousness must be born of sacrifice and self-forgetfulness.

The winning faith outruns the practical man's statistics of success. It requires a certain glorious abandon of the over-practical. It is rather careless of the little things, yet rejoices in them when they become straws in the wind to show progress. We can accept defeat in a thousand immediate undertakings, but keep up the steady moral pressure of idealism and win. Through sermons, books, editorials and all manner of public appeal we can direct the disintegrating force of truth and idealism against the citadels of ignorance, half-truths, institutionalism and social inertia, and like Jericho's walls they will come down. It may seem like casting bread upon the waters to a practical age but as sure as there is a God in Heaven it will return to modify and reform ancient ways. The customs and institutions and social classes that will not yield will atrophy and die. Change is not necessarily moral, but social progress is, and its dynamic force is idealism.

The microcosm of Christ's world-encompassing ideals of brotherhood is the beloved community. Right there is the acid test of Christian race relationships. Many churches support African missions generously, but do little or nothing in their own communities to ameliorate the harshness and injustice found along the color line. The gospel of sweetness and light radiates from their pulpits, but it does not search down into the sour and acrid race relationships of their community. God's justice to the wayward soul is preached, but little is said about justice to the weak and oppressed. A most inexcusable lynching took place in a mid-western city. The law was strict, the judge was just and there was no doubt of the verdict, but the guilty wretch was swung into eternity by lawless hands. It was as stark lawlessness as a hold-up or a bank robbery and the name of that town was in the headlines as a lawless community for days; but with two exceptions not a pulpit in that city called it to account before the moral law.

The question of men of different color eating together is of minor consequence, but the question of equality in chances to eat is of major consequence. No one on either side of the color line is asking for racial intermingling. When the white man gets frantic about that it is a good thing to ask him who has been the aggressor in whatever racial crossing has taken place. But self-respecting, justice-loving men on both sides are asking for equality in opportunity, and of all institutions they have most right to ask the church to advocate that. Equality of opportunity is a fundamental of democracy, of Americanism, and, above all, of the Christian gospel. There is not a community where white and black live side by side that does not challenge its churches with this problem, and the church that ignores it simply fails to preach either the justice of God or the gospel of Christ's brotherhood.

The color line is here, whether right or wrong, and it is so grounded in prepossession and prejudice that its abolition in our day is well-nigh hopeless. It is laid horizontally now, with the white man on top and the black man beneath it. Every fundamental we live by, both as Americans and Christians, demands that it be lifted from a horizontal to a vertical position. Tilting up the color line is a challenge to the best effort of the pulpit and of men of good-will in the pew. If there must be differentiation in community, school, hospital and church, let there be equal service. If states will compel different railway coaches and station arrangements, let them be of equal accommodation. When skill qualifies for craftsmanship, let pay be equal and opportunity at the job as well. When justice is done, let it be equal justice without reference to color. Thus only can we live in peace. Either the colored man must be given equal opportunity and justice or you must stop his education, for culture and inequity do not dwell together in peace.

We have a right to demand of our church leadership that it take counsel of its courage rather than of prudence and fear. The rank and file await our instruction, but they are children led by false guides if we lead not courageously.

REPORT OF THE DISCUSSION COMMITTEE

At the conclusion of Dr. Taylor's address the Discussion Committee reported through Mr. McKim, its Chairman.

Mr. McKim: Your Committee desires to present three resolutions for your consideration. The first resolution is this:

That we recommend that wherever possible interchange of pulpits be arranged between clergymen of different races, and that this resolution be called to the attention of the general boards of the church, to the ministerial associations and to the local churches represented by members in this conference.

It was adopted by vote.

Mr. McKim: We present this further resolution:

That we recommend the organization and regular meetings of religious leaders in local communities for the study of race problems.

What do you wish to do with this resolution?

A Voice: May I ask that you leave out the word "organization," and say "meeting"?

Mr. McKim: We will accept that amendment.

The resolution was amended and adopted as follows:

That we recommend the regular meetings of religious leaders in local communities for the study of race problems.

Mr. McKim: Our next resolution is:

We recommend that the attention of boards charged with educational, evangelistic and social activities, and those charged with the general administration of church bodies be called to the crucial importance of American race relations problems, not only to our American life, but to the religious life of the world.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

The Chairman: We will now have the benediction; this session will adjourn and the conference will continue its work upstairs.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION ON

VI. THE CHURCH AND RACE RELATIONS *

1. Religion is at the heart of race problems because we need the dynamic which Christianity gives to deal with such problems.
2. What should be the Christian attitude of mind toward race relationships? Several answers were given such as: Acceptance of brotherhood of man or rejection of Fatherhood of God; realization that he is my neighbor who needs me, with life friendships across group and race lines; the Christian attitude puts Christ before race loyalty; "What would Christ do?"
3. In answer to the question, How can we put these principles into action, such statements as the following were made: "By practicing what we preach"; beginning first with the individual, then the church, then the denomination, etc.; send Christians to other lands as representatives of governments and of business as zealous to live the Christ ideals as are the missionaries; spread the idea as we do our business with people of other races; get Sunday School teachers to create Christian attitudes in those they teach; live out the Christ ideal.

* Prepared by Dr. George Edmund Haynes.

Chapter VII

INDUSTRY AND RACE RELATIONS *

Opening prayer by Dr. R. W. McGranahan, Secretary of the Publicity Board of the United Presbyterian Church.

Dr. Haynes: The Chairman of the Discussion Committee is Miss Mary Van Kleeck. The Committee in planning this program feels that this morning we come more nearly to the ideal arrangement for one of these topics. You have been conscious of the fact that we did not have time enough for these topics each day. We have left the whole morning today to the question of industry. And we are very fortunate in the Committee we have to guide us in this discussion. Miss Van Kleeck is probably one of the best informed persons on the problem of industry today. Mr. John P. Frey, of Cincinnati, is the editor of one of the leading labor journals of the United States, and Mr. Barr is the managing vice-pres. of the American Cast Iron Pipe Co., one of the largest manufacturing plants in Birmingham, Alabama. Mrs. Norton, secretary of the West End Branch Y. W. C. A. of Cincinnati, who has supervised their industrial work in placing women in this city, and Mr. Cyrus T. Greene who is one of the personnel directors of the Westinghouse Electric Co. of Pittsburg, and Mr. Forrester B. Washington, who is to make the address, was an Urban League secretary in Detroit during the heaviest migration about six years ago; he was with me in the United States Department of Labor as Supervisor of Negro Economics in Illinois during the War and was in the Chicago district all the weeks preceding the riot. He is now Executive Secretary of the Armstrong Association. I now introduce the Chairman of the Discussion Committee—Miss Van Kleeck.

THE PLAN FOR THE SESSION

Miss Van Kleeck: I wish, first of all, to tell you the plan for this session, which is a little different from previous sessions. I should like to make a brief statement for the Committee, and then we shall have half an hour of general discussion from the floor. Our idea is that we are not prepared to say just what problems you would

* Friday, March 27, 1925, 9:15 A. M. Bishop C. H. Phillips, presiding.

like to bring out from your different communities, and if we can leave the discussion open instead of announcing topics perhaps we can bring out before the group the important questions relating to industrial conditions and race relations in your own communities.

At the end of the half hour we shall hear from Mrs. Elliott and Mr. Greene and then go on for a second half hour with general discussion. Then the Committee will withdraw as usual. Mr. Washington will make his address while the Committee will try to formulate for you what seem to be the main points towards which the conference should direct its attention. Then we wish to hear from Mr. Barr, who is vice-president of the American Cast Iron Pipe Co. of Birmingham, Ala. There is a great deal of appropriateness in that because this is the plant with which Mr. John J. Eagan, who was the first chairman of this Race Relations Commission of the Federal Council of Churches, was connected. In his will he left the plant to the employees. It represents one interesting and outstanding example of an effort to establish an ideal of brotherhood in an industrial plant. I am sure you will feel that it is very worth while to hear what has been done in one plant. Then the remainder of the time before adjournment, which will be about a half hour, will be given to questions and discussion.

ACCEPTED IDEAS

Let me first of all outline the points which the Committee consider important in opening discussion: At the outset we can agree that certain fundamental ideas are accepted, so that we shall not need to spend time in convincing each other of their truth. The first of these ideas was expressed several times yesterday: When we discuss housing or health or any other aspect of community life as affecting colored people we come back in the last analysis to their economic status; that is to say, many of these questions would cease to be problems if colored people all had adequate wages and adequate opportunity. As George Bernard Shaw said, "The trouble with the poor is their poverty," and that is true of the poor of every race. It is true, to be sure, that certain aspects of these questions are not related to wages; that, for instance, something more than universally high wages is necessary to satisfactory housing in a community.

Nevertheless, in a fundamental sense, the economic status of a people must always be reckoned with in any effective effort to improve social or living conditions.

The second idea which we are all prepared to accept is that every human being should have an opportunity in the world's work to do the

work for which he or she has capacity. That includes a great deal: freedom to choose one's work; opportunity to be trained for it; and a fair chance for promotion. For my part, I do not believe that history records any instance of more rapid progress than has been made by the colored race in this nation of ours since the Civil War, in the achievements of its members in various lines of work, in the professions, in the arts, in industry. It seems to me wholly extraordinary that such a record should have been made despite the handicaps of limited opportunities. It has demonstrated how great an asset this country of ours has in the capacity of the colored people to contribute to its work; and by "work" I mean all the professions and arts as well as industry. I think we need not spend any time in this conference, discussing the desirability of choice of occupation, of a chance to express, and to develop one's abilities. The question for us to discuss here is *how* to bring it to pass.

The third point of agreement is that the colored worker cannot get his opportunity in industry in America today without regard for the progress of labor generally. What is called the "labor movement" is seeking to establish a higher standard of living for all workers. It would be shortsighted for any one race to seek to overcome its own handicaps at the expense of that movement as a whole. And that brings up two questions: What is the labor movement going to do about giving the colored workers larger opportunity? And what shall be the position of the leaders of the colored people with reference to the standards of work and wages for which the labor movement has striven in different industries? Are we to be glad of the opening up of new opportunities for colored workers if they have come through the breaking of a strike? Will not that temporary gain of opening a new occupation be more than offset by the loss to labor generally in which the colored workers inevitably share?

The Committee believes that the Conference accepts these fundamental ideas and that we are here to consider how to make progress toward their realization. These are the questions on which we should like information from your various communities:

FACTS DESIRED

First: We would like to know, in general, the proportions of white and colored workers in the wage-earning population of your community. In relation to that fact, how is migration affecting race relations in industry in your city?

Second: What are the proportions of white and colored workers in your principal occupations? Are the proportions changing?

During the World War new occupations were opened to colored workers. Have the colored workers held their own in those occupations? If not, why? What is the effect on opportunities open to colored workers of restrictions on immigration from abroad? In other words, this series of questions is designed to bring out information regarding changes in the types of industrial work done by colored workers in your communities, and, closely allied to that, any instances of new occupations, new industries or plants opened to colored workers; and the circumstances whereby they were opened. In plants having personnel departments, what plans are in effect regarding the employment, training, and promotion of colored workers?

What is the relation of the public schools to employment? What are the schools doing to guide colored children in the choice of an occupation, and to train them, and what is the result? After colored children are trained is it difficult to get opportunities for them in industry? What are the obstacles?

What are the most difficult problems in race relations in industry, concretely illustrated in your community, and can you give instances of success in meeting them? Let us put the emphasis upon successful experience. I believe that we can be optimistic about the whole trend of labor relations in America despite temporary setbacks, and I believe that we can, also, be optimistic about race relations in industry. I do not mean to be complacent or to ignore difficulties, but let us concentrate our attention upon the methods of accomplishing results as they have been illustrated in actual practice.

What part do colored workers in your communities take in labor organizations; what part are they permitted to take? What is the attitude of the unions toward them? What is the attitude of the white workers within a plant toward the colored workers and the attitude of the colored workers toward the white? We would welcome concrete illustrations of all of these questions.

To sum up the questions: First, we want the facts—statements of what is actually happening in your communities. Second, we would like a clear formulation of the difficult problems. And, third, we would like to have you describe any experience, either of success or of failure, in dealing with those problems.

The Chairman: According to the outline set out in the program, it is my place to preside and let you speak.

IS STRIKE-BREAKING AN ASSET?

Mr. Chase (Youngstown, Ohio): I wonder if this business is not really a struggle for existence. I wonder if the colored people

can afford to give up the hold that they now have in industry through the threat of being able to break strikes, until the labor unions assure them, not only with promises but with more than promises, that they will treat them absolutely equally with the white people if they join the union. Very often they will promise them that but when it comes to a crisis the white man will draw back; or the colored people will do it first. You have got to have some way of being assured of that before they will give up the power which they now have.

AN EXPERIMENT IN ERIE, PA.

Rev. P. C. Childs (Erie, Pa.): With reference to Erie, Pa., we have found that previous to the migration shops that were open to colored people had been closed. But we found that it was necessary to make an investigation and find out why the shops had been closed to our people, and in making the investigation we found that many of our people coming into that section only worked for a few hours or a few days and left the employer without helpers, and so he said to us: "If you can bring to us men who will stay we will give them consideration in any department of our plant and give them to do whatever they are qualified to do in our plant." So we took in hand the labor question ourselves and directed it generally, and we have had wonderful success as a result of that. We tried to place men who would work, or were responsible.

Miss Van Kleeck: Was that done through a Committee?

Mr. Childs: Through the pastors of the churches.

FACTS ABOUT CHICAGO

George R. Arthur (Chicago, Ill.): The proportion of colored workers is about 32%. How migration affects us?—favorably. The proportion of white and colored workers in certain occupations. . . . I judge you mean by that the different skilled occupations?

Miss Van Kleeck: Any which illustrate changes.

Mr. Arthur: Sixteen per cent are in skilled occupations. New industries were opened up by the Y. W. C. A. and the Y. M. C. A. and the Urban League, especially the Y. W., in a number of factories where girls are now working on high-power machines. In the larger industries the skilled mechanic is being absorbed as fast as he comes into Chicago. As to personnel policies: We find that the larger industries are favorable to colored workers. Industry itself does not care much about the color as long as the work is produced and the interest on investment is made. We found that in Chicago.

Regarding the public schools: We have no technical schools in Chicago that train for the industries, except for highly technical positions. The difficult problems are met usually by employees' representation in the plant,—representatives elected by the employees plus the representatives appointed by the company meet in council and settle all problems relating to plant life. As to the attitude of workers toward one another: We have found that when the workers are left alone and no propaganda started either from the top or outside, as workers on a common job they get along fine, but when propaganda is brought in, the regular schism then, of course, occurs. I think if you will let the workers alone they will work well and without friction.

Miss Van Kleeck: When you said migration had a favorable effect on the position of the colored worker, just how is that so?

Mr. Arthur: Migration brings to the city the best trained men of the South—men who have been molders, for instance, and the highest priced jobs in the industries can be filled by these colored men from the South. Because of their race consciousness they not only perform 100% but possibly 150% in order to keep the job, because they know that in slack time they will go out if they do not do a little bit more than the other fellow.

Miss Van Kleeck: Is restriction of European immigration opening those jobs?

Mr. Arthur: No, supply and demand.

Miss Van Kleeck: Presumably, then, there is a shortage of labor in Chicago which makes it possible for new workers to come in.

Mr. Arthur: It depends upon the season of the year. But when the thing is at high tide there will be a shortage of labor and there will be more colored men coming in from the South.

NEW JOBS IN INDIANAPOLIS

Mr. Charles O. Lee (Indianapolis, Ind.): Just a statement or two of the facts in our city. The colored laborer is taking the place of the foreign laborer previously employed. In the ten years between 1910 and 1920, while there was an increase of almost 13,000 colored people in Indianapolis, there was an actual decrease of almost 3,000 of the foreign-born. The plants in which the colored people are particularly prominent are the packing industries and molding. In 1910 there were about 50 skilled molders in Indianapolis. In 1920 they had risen to some 600 or 700 all told. The same is true in the packing industry. There were very few colored workers in skilled and in semi-skilled jobs in the packing industries in 1910,

but in 1920 there was quite an increase in the skilled and semi-skilled workers. We have a glove company up there that opened up a branch, and all of the operators were colored girls. They were planning some time ago to put the girls in the office as well as out in the plant itself, and run the thing from top to bottom with colored girls. About the attitude—I have talked personally to a few of the employers of colored labor, and they say they much prefer it to foreign labor, and there is a good spirit, so far as I know, between the white and colored workers in these various industries, especially packing and molding.

Bishop George C. Clement (Louisville, Ky.): What is the attitude of organized labor, skilled labor, for instance, in the molding industry? Are these Negro molders coming up from Chattanooga and Birmingham becoming part of the labor union controlling those industries?

Mr. Lee: I think the attitude in Indianapolis of organized labor toward the colored man is about the same as it is the country over.

Bishop Clement: Negroes are not members of the labor unions in the South. When they come North they find that, in order to continue in their jobs in normal times, they must be taken into the organizations, and I have seen in several cities where I go that that is a crucial matter.

Mrs. M. Lee Anderson (Dayton, Ohio): Dayton is considered a factory city. This attracted for us quite a share of the migration and as very little opportunity was given them in the shop work there it has created quite a labor situation. We feel fortunate in having added to our Interracial Council a member of the labor unions and he is working with us on these problems in Dayton and the outlook is pleasing so far.

ATTITUDE OF UNIONS IN NEWARK, N. J.

Rev. George M. Plaskett (Orange, N. J.): I am speaking for Essex County, N. J. and my information comes from the social workers in Newark. Migration has brought us many people who remain in Newark rather than go on to New York, and many of them are unskilled workers. Some are in the factories as molders. They are not in the unions. A few have joined in individual cases. Then, in such trades as carpentry, the colored people have a union of their own. There is a complaint, however, that when they join the union and go for a job the secretaries will discriminate against Negroes in favor of whites, so sometimes the Negro will be waiting for a job, having come first to the labor office, but the secretary will

send out a white man who came in after him. Women are operatives in the factories, are working with whites, and they get along very, very well.

S. A. Allen (Boston, Mass.): That is interesting about the glove factory in Indianapolis. I wonder if we could know the circumstance which made it possible to open that opportunity to colored girls. Our problem in Boston is to try to have white employers direct their attention to colored labor.

HOW A FACTORY WAS OPENED TO COLORED GIRLS

Miss May Belcher (Indianapolis, Ind.): The Y. W. C. A. began work in that glove factory in February, 1923. At that time they had just closed the factory to colored girls because of indifference, morale and that sort of thing. Our Committee on Industry in the Y. W. C. A. branch for colored girls asked the privilege of working with those girls for a few months to see if we could save the factory to them. The consequence was we got them all to the Association and organized a club among them and started to build morale and to show the girls their responsibility for keeping that factory intact for colored girls. About Easter the management called us up and said the whole atmosphere in the factory had changed. They sent us a letter which we have in our files saying the same thing. They also said if those girls continued to bring up output it would be second to no factory that they had. If they continued to do as well as they had been doing in the last three months they would build a factory that would accommodate five hundred colored girls. Every authority said it was the best lighted, the most sanitary, the most beautiful and attractive factory of its kind in the country. Just a few months ago the management wanted some sample work for exhibition purposes and they refused work from the other factories and took the work from these girls.

Miss Van Kleeck: Why did they decide, originally, to take colored girls?

Miss Belcher: They opened that branch as an experiment, and I understand that the experiment was to continue for about two years to see if they could make these girls an asset in industry. What they are doing now is to say very frankly that that factory, according to its numbers, is doing the best work of any factory in the community. They have a factory for white girls that employs about 900. That for colored has a capacity of about 500. Business has now slumped so that they are employing only 190 girls. They have time-keepers and floor women of color. One of the managers

is a white woman who first came into the factory and taught glove making. The superintendent of this factory is a white man from Kentucky. He has done everything he could to help bring this factory up to the standard he now has.

F. E. DeFrantz (Indianapolis, Ind.): I want to ask if the opening up of this other factory was not done also with the idea of operating on a lower wage scale?

Miss Belcher: I don't know whether that was the first consideration, but I know now that the girls work on piece work. When we started our work in the factory the average girl was making $6 or $8 a week, and one of the great complaints was that the girls played on their jobs and there was much turnover of labor. Now on piece work the average girl is getting $15 to $18 per week and some are getting $25.

INCREASE IN COLORED WORKERS IN COLUMBUS, OHIO

Dr. Cox (Columbus, Ohio): I happen to have figures on one of our largest industries, the Buckeye Steel Casting Co., which, like all of our Columbus industries, is not run in agreement with organized labor. We are under the great American plan of the open shop. Ten years ago there were 10% colored men and 40% foreign and the rest native white. Now the figures are exactly the reverse: There are 10% foreign, 40% colored and 50% native white in this largest industry in our city.

A rather aggravating fact came to me which I would like to have brought out in Mr. Washington's remarks: The Pennsylvania R. R. in our city is taking on a lot of colored folk. One of the men said he was advanced right along the same as the rest and now even has the position of foreman but that he was getting 40 cents an hour for the same work that the white man was getting 70 cents an hour for; and that obtained throughout.

A MANUFACTURER'S EXPERIENCE

H. L. Sanders (Indianapolis, Ind.): I am a manufacturer. We employ in our plant about forty men and women. We have been in one square for over thirty years. I wish to say that before these factories in Indianapolis were open for colored girls white men of our city called on me and asked me if I thought that if they should open a factory for colored girls and men, would they make good? I told them that from the experience I have had they would. As I said, I have been there over thirty years in one place,

manufacturing. Our output is over $50,000 a year. Now the young men that we have had in our plant, the majority of them, stay there from one to two and three years. I have some there that have been for ten years in my plant. They earn from $12 to $20 per week on piece work.

I understand from the gentleman who runs the glove factory at Indianapolis that their girls in that plant make about the same as they do in my plant. On my recommendation this glove factory was opened, and they also opened an overall factory and our girls were put in there, and they made good. An umbrella manufacturer came to me and asked me if I thought he could teach our girls to make umbrellas. I told him our girls could do anything other girls could do. He opened an umbrella factory and ran ten years with our girls, and he made money enough in that time and he quit. I want to say that if they just give them a show our girls will make good.

PERSONNEL PROBLEMS IN CHICAGO PLANTS

Rev. Charles W. Burton (Chicago, Ill.): It has been my privilege at certain times to talk to personnel directors of industrial plants in Chicago and certain problems have been brought to my attention. I suppose the industries that employ the largest number of Negroes would be the stockyards industries, the packing industry, the steel industry, and then the corn products industry employs a great number of colored people. I remember especially the personnel director out in the corn products plant telling me of the experiences they have had with their workers generally and especially with reference to colored people. Up until the time of the War not so many colored men had been employed there. They had a certain part of work there at the plant that they had found that the Russians could do better than anybody else, and when the war came a good many of the Russians had to go back home. So then they thought that they would try out the Negro to see if he would fit into that particular part of the industry, and when they put the Negroes in they found that the Negroes did it 100% better than the Russians, and even when the Russians came back the Negroes kept that particular part of the work.

One thing complained of was that the turn over was considerable among the colored workers; the colored people—some of them—would work for a few days, a few weeks or a few months, and get a good batch of money on hand, and then take time off for a few days or weeks or months. It seems to me that a conference like

this ought to bring some weight to bear on a situation like that. Doubtless many of our communities are putting it in the hearts and minds of working men and women to stick to their jobs.

I have talked to some of the men who were employed there about joining the unions. Some of them go into the unions and some of them do not. There seems to be a reason why a good many more do not get into the unions. From actual experience they said that when they get into the labor unions they are discriminated against in very definite ways. If only so many men are to be employed, if any are to be let go, they let the Negroes go first. Some influence ought to be brought to bear on a situation like that. If we are to uphold labor unions and if labor unions are to become prevalent throughout American industry, then the labor union must be fair to all of its members.

RECRUITING FOR NORTHERN MILLS

Dr. William S. Keller (Cincinnati, Ohio): I am familiar with a large steel corporation in the vicinity of this city, a town of about 25,000 people, that has had the practice in recent years of sending a representative to the South and bringing up to this steel mill groups of colored workmen for common labor. After these men were brought to this mill they were housed in large dormitories and it has created in this community a problem in health, a problem in housing and a social evil. I fancy, also, that it has created a problem in the communities which they have left. I am wondering, for instance, if the improved economic conditions, increased salaries probably that have been received up North, have not been offset by what it might have done to their families at home. I am asking this question, please: Is this way of securing common labor an injury to the rights of labor in the nation? Is it an injury by one state to another to secure labor under such conditions?

Miss Van Kleeck: We have now before us a good many problems and there will be time later on for discussion. We have completed the half hour of general discussion from the floor, and I would like to ask Bishop Phillips, the Chairman, if he will call on two members of the Committee—Mrs. Elliott and Mr. Greene. Mrs. Elliott will speak on Women in Industry. Mr. Greene is personnel worker for the Westinghouse Electric Co.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

Mrs. Elizabeth N. Elliott (Cincinnati, O.): During the World War when there was a wholesale recruiting of forces through which

the great conflict might be speedily and victoriously ended, the call came to Negro women to enter the growing army of American women workers. Without an industrial background this brought many economic problems to our women in industry. From the employer's viewpoint colored women were said to give much dissatisfaction. They are slow producers. They are listless at their work and they will not make time. On the other hand, they are more loyal to their employer and they are cheerful and intelligent—more intelligent than the foreign girl. Sometimes the colored employees feel that they find a prejudice on the part of the employer which is not always justified.

We have in Cincinnati 50,383 wage-earning women. Of these 20,100 are employed in industries. There are 900 colored women in industries in Cincinnati. Their work includes garment making, pure food industries, laundries, tobacco industries, elevator operating, cafeteria work, hotel and stores and office and maid service. That figure does not include domestic work.

In the past two years in Cincinnati we have been able to create three new distinct occupations for colored women where colored women have never been employed before. These occupations were opened through the Y. W. C. A. and their program of reaching employers. We have a garment factory here in the city, the Rauh & Mack Shirt Co., which we feel has done a great deal toward creating new opportunities for colored women. I wish to say, however, that it was not a war-born opportunity. This was the only trade in Cincinnati that employed colored girls before the War, and since the War they have increased. Before the War this plant employed about 40 colored workers. Since then the increase has been to 100, and they will put on 50 more if we can find the girls to fill the places. This is a model establishment. They have splendid working conditions; they give equal pay for skilled work. White and colored girls work in this plant, although in different rooms, but they have a fine cafeteria where both eat; they sit at their own tables. There is always a fine morale in the factory, never any dissatisfaction, and we have the finest kind of workers. High grade work is done in it.

In all new places we proceed to organize the girls into groups where we can bring them together to talk over the problems and get right directly to them what they owe to the employer and how to meet the difficulties which they meet every day and how to give their best to the work they are engaged in. We have been successful in placing elevator operators in one of the new large downtown department stores. These girls are giving splendid service

and by their service we have been able to open in the last month another place for elevator girls. We have been able to put them in the hotels in the city and they are giving perfect satisfaction.

We organize them into clubs. We have conferences with the girls and conferences with the employers. We have an employment agency and through this employment agency we help the employer to get the best type of girl, so that they depend upon us in finding girls and by so doing there is very little labor turnover. The employer is always ready to advance the girls. They start them in the same kind of work in this city wherever colored girls are employed; they give them the same opportunity and the same wage, and we have very little friction where colored and white girls are employed together.

A NEGRO PERSONNEL SUPERVISOR'S VIEW

Chairman: We have another statement to come from Mr. Cyrus T. Greene, of Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. Greene: There is one thing I am about to learn in my five years' experience with the Westinghouse Manufacturing Co., and that is that a great many of our problems depend upon our approach. I think that the success of an approach to a problem depends upon what we know about what we are going at. First, know what you want; second, know what you go up against; third, know what you have with which to go up against that which you have to go up against; and then do it. Many problems depend upon our approach to what we are after, and our approach depends entirely upon our knowledge of the situation.

The failures or successes of workmen or groups of workmen have direct relationship with an individual's or a group of individuals' approach to industry, and the Negro is not an exception. His approach depends on his knowledge of what he is about to approach. One of the most essential things to know is the viewpoint of the leaders in industry. Of course, the older the establishment, the larger the organization, the better organized it is and more difficult it is to get the viewpoint of such men. When this is possible the leader's viewpoint becomes the workmen's viewpoint. He knows that part of the responsibility is his. Expressing it in the military term, he is able to make an "estimate of the situation"—knows what is to be done, knows what opposition is expected in such an effort, knows his or her ability to meet such an opposition and finally makes use of such information to make good.

The trouble has been that too many of our men have approached

industry with their knowledge limited to three ideas—get all the money they can, get it quick and get away in a hurry. The speaker is glad to state that some have a different approach, and an observation at East Pittsburg, Pa., shows that men often quit to return later with a better approach.

While a very little can be said about Negroes' representation in personnel policy. Negroes are retained by some firms in somewhat an advisory capacity. This has been the means of giving the Negro workmen a better approach and has been most successful with small firms and in small industrial villages. Generally speaking no discrimination is shown in wages paid Negro workmen on the same class occupation as white men. In fact, in most cases the work is done on a piece, time, or tonnage basis and a man is paid according to the amount of the output.

In the North and West, industry is well organized; a new applicant, white, black or brown, meets opposition with some advantages on the side of the dominant race. However, the theory is that the interviewer in employment offices makes no discrimination in placing men on the jobs that are open and for which they are qualified.

It is the opinion of the speaker that the Negro has made himself in the last ten years a larger factor in American industry and is more dependable but there is still a great opportunity for a more liberal attitude in such an endeavor.

I would like to say just a word about attitudes. The attitudes, of course, vary, but we have not as yet shown the proper attitude in going into the shops, particularly around Pittsburgh. They don't place the blame on the men that come from the shops; they place it on the leadership, and they said: "Greene, if there is one thing you tell those folks at that conference, tell them the colored preachers have not given the proper religious instruction to the workers here in the shop."

Dr. Haynes: What do you mean by religious instruction?

Mr. Greene: They feel that a man will listen to the colored preacher when he will not listen to his foreman. And when we are able to reach them that way, we will get better results—instead of this indifference that you have discussed, so that a man will come to the shop; he will not work for a day and stay off two days.

Mr. Plaskett (Orange, N. J.): I am a preacher. Do your men go to church?

Mr. Greene: Some of them, about fifty per cent.

Mr. Plaskett: Very few of them.

LABOR UNIONS AND COLORED WORKERS

Miss Van Kleeck: May I just say that it is very natural that the preachers should wish to speak on this point, but I am going to beg you to be patient because I think that toward the end of our program, after you have heard a little more, you will have an idea of what it would be wise for preachers to say to their workers. If you will wait until that time I think that we can discuss the question more profitably. I am anxious that we should take advantage of the fact that we have here, as a member of our Committee, Mr. John P. Frey.

Almost every question in this discussion has had something to do with the relation of the labor organizations to colored workers. Mr. Frey is a national leader of the labor movement in this country, a former member of the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor, President of the Ohio Federation of Labor, besides being a prominent leader in the national organization of molders, editor of its paper, and in touch with the thought and spirit of the labor movement. Mr. Frey also organized the first union of colored workers among the molders. He has had years of interest in this particular problem and I think it very important at this moment that Mr. Frey take fifteen minutes to talk with us about it.

Mr. Frey (Cincinnati, O.): Miss Chairman and those who are present: This question that is being discussed this morning is one to which I have given a great deal of attention for the best part of a lifetime. Miss Van Kleeck has just said I have been an officer in the trade union movement for many years. I spent three or four years in studying our problem in the South, and twenty-six years ago I organized the first union composed exclusively of colored molders which had ever been organized in the city of Chattanooga, when our white members—I will not say all they said to me when I began to discuss the problem of organizing the Negro. I recognized at that time there was no social question involved; it was wholly an economic question. If a Negro made a casting it sold in the market at its market price, which was the same as though the white molder had made it, so that the white molder's and the colored molder's economic interests and welfare were identical.

Since that time I have come into contact with some of the leaders of the colored race in this country. I have talked with some of the clergy, I have made an effort to find out what the real problem was, and in a measure perhaps I have been able to understand one or two angles of it. It has been touched upon

slightly this morning. The thought was expressed that perhaps in coming North and entering the industries the Negro held the whip hand, that it might be well if he maintained that for a little while. And then I have heard some other thoughts, as to plants being established where Negroes are employed exclusively or where the percentage of Negroes to whites has grown larger and larger. Now from my point of view as a Cincinnatian, I am interested in knowing whether the Negro, when he works in industry in the North, gets the same wage for the same product as a white man.

Mr. Greene: Yes, sir, at the Westinghouse he does.

Mr. Arthur: He does in Chicago.

Mr. Frey: If he does not, then I have one reason why there is a certain amount of prejudice against him. Now, from my personal knowledge, taking the city of Cincinnati to begin with, and the city of Dayton and Springfield and others, I want you to remember this, that the Negro molder receives from 20% to 45% less wages for the same output as white molders in this State. If you would go with me and talk with the Negro molders who are employed in a foundry in Cincinnati I have in mind, they would tell you that they thought the organization might be a good thing for them, but if they became members of the trade union movement they would immediately lose their jobs.

I think I have a somewhat sympathetic understanding for the attitude of some of the leaders of the colored people, and I want to bring it out now. I had the privilege of coming into contact with a man who, I think, was among the best known leaders of the colored people. He recognized the fact that the Negro was practically confined to the South; that there he was only an agricultural laborer; that, underlying any elevation of the Negro standard of living was an economical factor—wages—that the standard of living would determine what kind of man he was going to be; that as a farm hand, if he was to remain there, his opportunities were very small; that he must get into the industries, he must learn trades and acquire skill to command a much higher wage, and in that way improve conditions for his family. The difficulty was in getting white employers who would give the Negro an opportunity. He found, when he worked in the South, that when the Negro became a member of our organizations, he was more or less out of luck because when he left his town and went to a place where the white men were employed his union card was not of any value for him. It would not put him through. This leader recognized that the Negro must be placed in the industries so that he might become democratic, and in his influence he prevailed upon one of the largest manufac-

turing establishments in the South to give the Negro an opportunity. I have visited that plant a number of times and I think that there were about 2,000 Negroes who had been placed at work in that city. They were given an opportunity of learning blacksmith's, machinist's, electrician's and some of the other trades.

But he had to pay a price to do that, and the price was that he should teach the members of his race to feel that they owe this corporation such a tremendous debt of gratitude that they would never do anything which would be contrary to that corporation's wishes, and one of the corporation's very strong policies was to prevent any trade union organization, so that the price he paid so that the members of his race could learn a trade, was to yearly hold meetings at which all of the Negro employees were brought together, and advised of the dangers of organization among themselves. He was plain about the matter. He told them they would not be working there if it was not for the fact that they are not members of the union. In other words, this employer, while giving the Negro the opportunity of acquiring a trade, was exploiting them to the white man's disadvantage. In this community it was only natural that the white man had something added to the race prejudices that were in the South. I do not understand this race prejudice altogether. When I began to talk with our members in the South I found every one of them had a Negro helper, who worked beside them in the factory day by day. They would not work unless they had a Negro helper. As they were willing to work with them side by side industrially, I thought there was something behind this question I did not understand from my up-bringing in Massachusetts. I found it was merely that the white employer when he had given the Negro an opportunity of learning a trade, too frequently exploited him to the white working man's disadvantage.

Now, then, for some of the colored leaders. I have written upon this question for a number of years. Not only have I worked at it but I have written about it; I have spoken about it. I find that there are a large number of the leaders of the Negro race who today feel very much like the individual that I have just referred to. They see the problem very much as I did. First: Their race must get into industry in order to acquire mechanical ability; second, we must try and influence them so that they can get into the industries. And the Negro leader, you know, is used by those employers whose principal idea is to get labor at the very lowest possible rate, just as some employers, who originally opened their establishments with nothing but Americans, displaced those Americans by

non-English-speaking foreigners and are now displacing those non-English-speaking foreigners by the Negro.

But the trouble is that this economic problem lies in there. The only way men can solve many of their problems is by getting together. Our civilization would crumble within a year if we were unable to organize. Industry could not be carried out. If there is any one important thing to maintain our civilization, it is organization along those lines that affect our welfare and our lives. The trade union movement is endeavoring to organize the colored man, and what I regret is that, occasionally, some leader of the colored race criticizes the aim of the trade union movement because of its unwillingness to take in the Negro or that it discriminates against him. I have heard that same statement of discrimination made by Russian Jews, who were in our industries. I have heard it from the Slavs in our industries. I have heard the same statement made from every group of workmen who were not white Americans, that we discriminated against them when they became members of the unions.

The Negro has to work out his own problems in industry. The trade union movement is endeavoring to elevate the standards. It seems to me there is nothing more important at the present time than for leaders of the colored race to impress upon their own that if they hope to make progress they must do so through organization, and that it is to their advantage to do the same thing the white man does to protect his standard of living. This trade union movement is tremendously important for colored men, and there is this: whenever the colored man becomes a member of the trade union he receives the same wage and the same protection as the white man or non-English-speaking foreigner. And while the church has a tremendously important part to play, not only in the South but since migration in the North, the industrial organization is equally important.

The welfare of the colored man in industry cannot be left free and unregulated in the employers' hands; he must do the same thing the white man has done. The white man in industry was very little better than a serf at the time of the Revolutionary War; industrially he was nowhere. Everything he has secured, his shorter work day, the recognition of his rights by the employer, the regulation of his wages, have all been by coöperative advantage. There is no cure other than that for industrial injustice. There is no path the colored man can travel which is different from what the white man has been forced to struggle over in order to secure industrial justice, and to get in industry that same voice for determining justice and improvement of the conditions of labor that

we have politically. If there is any one thing I would like to impress particularly upon those who represent the colored race, it is this: that they have two problems—one to get their own race into the industries where they will pass from unskilled labor to semi-skilled labor, and then into the group of finished mechanics; along with that they must bear in mind that the Negro must be trained and told to demand a dollar for every bit of product that the white man would receive a dollar for. Much of this condition which we read about, much of this racial prejudice, is due to the fact that one group of men come into a community and, by working for a lower wage, immediately lower the standard of living for those already in the community. That is not a healthful condition; it is one which is bound to bring about more or less feeling.

The official statements of the American Federation of Labor, welcoming the Negro into the trade union movement, may mean a great deal or they may mean nothing. Statements are made sometimes for shop effect. The only way to determine whether the American trade union movement is sincere or not is to find what they do. We are trying as an American trade union movement to organize the Negro. We expect to meet the objections of the Negroes' employer in that matter, but we do regret tremendously that we often meet with the harmful influence of the leaders of the colored race in the community—sometimes the editor of the colored paper, sometimes the clergyman of the colored church. We understand the reason why he is disturbed. He knows the employer's attitude; he feels that if he advises the members of his race to join the trade union the employer's interest in keeping the colored man at work will be turned into antagonism. And yet if there is to be built up that condition which every colored man is entitled to have, then, it seems to me, the leaders of the colored race must do what they can to assist the American trade union movement in organizing the Negro and to use the economic truth that the Negro is entitled to the same wage as a white man for an equal product. As soon as the Negro understands that, in my opinion, a very large per cent, if not all, of the so-called industrial race prejudice which exists will vanish into thin air.

I know the difficulty in doing that. I have seen a trade union movement charged by prominent leaders of the colored race with refusing to take Negroes into their organization. I have had correspondence with these men; I have proved to them they were wrong. I have said I, personally, am now endeavoring to organize the colored molders; will you give me a communication, signed, in which you say that you believe it will be advisable for the colored

man to join the trade union movement? I never yet have received such a communication. I am making a very blunt statement, but I am also giving you my reason. I see the problem in the leader's mind: If I do this I may be interfering with the progress of my race in learning the trade. But there is your problem; it is an economic problem. It is based upon the wages in the envelope. The white manufacturer in the North, who gives the Negro an opportunity, is not to be judged by whether he gives the Negro a chance to work but whether he pays the same wages for that work as he pays the white man.

Miss Van Kleeck: May I ask that, if you are willing, we postpone our questions until the report of the Committee is brought in? There is plenty of time, but if we stop now we shall disarrange our program. I would like to ask Bishop Phillips if he will introduce Mr. Washington who is to give the twenty-minute address.

Mr. Forrester B. Washington, Executive Secretary of the Armstrong Association, Philadelphia, Pa., addressed the conference as follows:

My speech will be more or less hit or miss, and you can sympathize with me after listening to reports from all over the country, as comprehensive as they were, how little there is left for me. However, I have gotten some stimulus from the various reports and a great deal from the last report, and perhaps I had better stop there. I may miss a couple of cylinders but I think Mr. Frey missed three or four himself.

I agree with the last speaker that Negroes and whites ought to get together, but I think also that the craftsmen of the American Federation of Labor ought to realize that they need the Negro as much as the Negro needs them, and, secondly, that the principle of collective bargaining is the fact that labor, black or white, adult or child, have common interests. Now, if organized labor organizes to keep the Negro out it seems to me that the sensible Negro will see that if any organization organizes to keep a man earning less than somebody else is earning, that if he can get a higher wage by undercutting that man, he is justified in doing it. That is self-preservation, and self-preservation, in the last analysis, is the more fundamental urge, the more logical urge than theoretical argument.

As a matter of fact I am a member of a trade union. But I know this, that there are trade unions that do not admit Negroes. By no construction, no theory or anything else can you prove that Negroes can get into the Machinists' Local in any city I know of. He cannot become a plumber in Philadelphia. If a Negro applies, the man who issues permits won't give him a license. The members of the licensing board are made up of master plumbers. If a Negro in some way is able to set himself up as a plumber when he goes to buy fixtures from a plumber's outfitter, they refuse to sell to him. When certain plumbers' outfitters have sold fixtures to Negro plumbers the plumbers' organizations have boycotted these firms. Up to 1918 they had seventy-five colored motormen in Detroit on the trolley car system. And then during the trolley car strike, you remember, that Ex-President Taft sitting as Wage Labor Board head granted one of the stipulations laid down against their colored brothers by the white motormen, namely, that the company agree that there would never be any more colored men than the 75 men they had. That is why you have got to consider this

thing from many angles. You cannot say flat-footedly that the Negro does not have difficulty with the American Federation type of craft unionism.

I don't believe that in the anthracite coal industry there is a single Negro miner. There are plenty in the bituminous industry. In the South where there are bituminous mines it is non-union, anyway, but up here it is possible to selfishly monopolize industry. Up at Scranton and Wilkes-Barre, Pa., where practically the only anthracite industry in the country exists, they will not admit the Negro, for no reason except the selfish monopolistic idea of the American Federation of Labor. In Detroit the only way the Negroes got into the Ford and Cadillac plants was because these plants were open shops and Negroes trained in their industries in the South were able to go there and get good jobs and they did not have to undercut anybody at that time.

Negroes are not essentially scabs. I was up at a meeting in Indianapolis recently of bituminous miners and I do not think there were any more pronounced unionists than the Negro delegates. In the packing industry in Chicago, Negroes entered as strike breakers twenty years ago, but when I was in Chicago a few years ago, a Negro was vice-president of the Stockyards Labor Council. Negroes are good unionists in the Butcher Workmen's Local, and they are good unionists under a great deal of pressure, because many of the Negroes work in the yards in various mechanical trades, and their union cards are not worth a snap of the fingers outside of the yards, as no American Federation of Labor local will recognize them. Colored women in Chicago, New York and Philadelphia, in the last few months, have acted as pickets in the garment workers' strikes. Something like 150 of our colored girls are in the garment organizations in Philadelphia. It is a city in which Negroes have not progressed as rapidly as they have in the West, because of the presence of a large reservoir of foreign-born labor.

The one thing that differentiates the situation of the Negro from that of the Slav and other foreign-born is that the Negro did not enter industry by under-cutting wages. The Negro is the one racial group that came into industry as the result of the work of Providence, or whatever you want to call it. The Negro entered industry on a large scale as a result of the War. At the present time the Negro is not going into any industry because of lower wages but because of the slackening of immigration.

Then, to me there is something that is a great deal more important than the mere fact that is raised by the economist. I am wondering whether it is not opportunity which acts as effectively as self-organization. We ask, how do you get Negroes in these various industries? By breaking down the two chief obstacles, the inertia of the employer and the opposition of the white employee, who objects to Negroes. It seems to me—and I would like to raise the question and let some lady here answer it—that Negro men are moving up in the industrial scale but Negro women are having a hard time. It is pitiful to have to glory over the fact that the colored women are going into the garment industry. From the point of view of the community as a whole it is one of the least desirable occupations for women but it is a big thing for colored women because so few occupations are open to them. And yet in the majority of factory employments in which women are engaged we are told time and again: "We cannot take colored women because the white women would not work with them." I have talked on the situation with Y. W. C. A. leaders and they state that this is the attitude of a number of girls. Social workers also agree in this. Take the problems of the high school in the North. In the swimming pools in high schools, for instance. You can mix the boys easily but with the girls it is more difficult. It may not be a sex problem at all. It may be due to the training of women, the fact that conventionalities have been impressed upon them more than upon men. So I would answer the last speaker's question by saying that two things are necessary. One must bring to the employers of his city evidences, in the shape of photographs, statements from

employers, statistics and the like, as to where Negroes are being used in the West on jobs they are not being used on in Boston; secondly, to try to get members of interracial committees and other white people who profess to be interested in the solution of this interracial conflict, to work among the white employers, because that is, after all, where the big problem is.

The gentlemen also raised this question about the Pennsylvania Railroad, that we must approach these things in a scientific spirit. If you will simply take an instance and try to reason from it, it is very unscientific. The scientific method is to get all your possible facts, assemble them and get a law from that, and apply it to the situation. If you get one man who says he is not getting as much as the white man, he may be an ignorant man. He may not know how to figure his time card. My experience is this: The Pennsylvania Railroad has about 75,000 employees scattered from Louisville, Ky., to Philadelphia, and along this main line, taking in Pittsburgh, Columbus, Cincinnati, etc., they found that the so-called Nordic groups were passing off of the top and immigration was not supplying any more northern Europeans. That was the group that constituted their skilled employees. On the other hand, for ten years they had been trying to make skilled men out of the Italians and other Mediterranean races and at the end of ten years they claim they have not been able to make as good shop mechanics out of the southern or Mediterranean groups as they believe they could make out of Negroes.

What the War did for the Negro was that it proved to many employers who employed him in an emergency, that he was as good a workman or better than many of the other national groups. I do not want to make any unscientific observations myself, but I will say this, that the Clark plant of the Carnegie Steel Co., made a study of its 41 nationalities not so long ago, and basing it upon its pay rolls, found that the Negro stood twelfth in the list, and the eleven groups that were more efficient than the Negro were all members of the older immigrant groups, but that the newer groups fell below the Negro's rating of efficiency.

The Detroit Community Fund about four years ago decided to make a study of the comparative efficiency of Negroes in industrial occupations. They found in the Morgan & Wright Tire Co., a branch of the U. S. Rubber Co., that they could study 80 colored men and 80 white men, unbeknown to themselves, working eight hours a day at piece work on a semi-skilled process. They studied their payrolls for six bi-weekly pay days, and found at the end of that time that there was practically no difference in the productivity of the two groups, but that this qualitative and quantitative test showed that the races were about even from the point of view of efficiency.

This Pennsylvania Railroad survey also showed that a man from Cincinnati, unless he has travelled a great deal, cannot reason about the possibilities of using Negroes somewhere else. We found that as one progressed north on the Pennsylvania lines one would find more and more Negroes working in the shops, and that seemed to be because more and more the competition there was foreign-born, but when one came down to Columbus one still found Negroes working in the shops, but a large proportion were working on unskilled jobs. At Cincinnati a still larger group. At Louisville practically all. Yet at places like Crestline, Ohio, Negroes were earning the very highest wages,—were of the aristocracy of mechanics. What they said at Cincinnati and at Louisville is that the reason you do not find Negroes in the skilled occupations in these cities is because of the large supply of white Americans, and as long as they could get a supply of southern white boys and men in Louisville and Cincinnati and Columbus, they would not use the Negroes; but when one approached Pittsburg, and went from there through the north toward Chicago, one found the colored man working in the skilled jobs. It simply proves that people observe a situation such as I have just discussed, and because the Negroes are not employed because of some other labor supply in the community, they believe that is because the

Negro is inefficient. Then they will say that one job in that community is a white man's and the other is a Negro's, and the white man's job must be superior and the Negro's job inferior.

I am up against the same situation in Philadelphia, that you confront in this section of the country. We find it is very difficult to get colored girls in any type of industry. We can still place them in the garment industry but that is simply spreading them out on the same level. Last year a little colored girl graduated from the Philadelphia School of Designing for Women. She won five prizes—the first prize for the best design for a lace curtain, the first prize for the best design for cretonne, the first prize for the best design for linoleum, the first prize for the best design for the school catalogue for next year, and one other prize. Those prizes were all awarded by the textile industry of Kensington or by similar industries in Newark, N. J. It has been the habit of the men awarding those prizes to ask for the winner to be placed in their designing departments, but when this colored girl turned up as a prize winner nobody wanted her, because she was colored. That shows the ridiculousness of race prejudice.

This is what we did in this matter, which may be a suggestion to some of you. We called together a meeting of the vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce, got the head of the Philadelphia Personnel Association, which represents something like 3,500 manufacturers, and two or three other people of that type, and presented this girl's case, and then the Committee appointed a chairman, who happened to be the secretary of this Personnel Association of Philadelphia, and he presented the case before the entire body of Personnel Managers of the city of Philadelphia, and the girl got a job. There was some employer that was willing to take a chance on a girl who had demonstrated her efficiency and she obtained employment.

At the present time we are attacking another problem which might be worth while in communities where colored women have not opportunities at the present time. We are training colored girls as dental assistants. There are a lot of colored girls coming out of high school who have good manners, a nice appearance, who want to work and who do not want to go into domestic work. We have arranged a course of twenty lessons teaching them how to meet patients, how to stand beside the dentist chair, how to sterilize instruments, helping him in every way. In Philadelphia we have already placed two with white dentists and have been asked to send more. To create industrial openings you have got to plan such a campaign.

Chairman: I am sure you will pardon me if I pause a moment to do something. I want to introduce to this audience this morning a man who has long been a friend of the Negro in this country, interested in all the movements which have tended to better his condition, and who has given his long life to the service of the race, ending with years of service in Africa. I will not have him make a speech, but I want to introduce to the audience this morning Bishop Joseph C. Hartzell of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Bishop I am very glad to see you. (Bishop Hartzell was received with applause.)

The report of the Committee is next in order; it will be presented by Miss Van Kleeck, the Chairman of the Discussion Committee:

REPORT OF DISCUSSION COMMITTEE

Miss Van Kleeck: The Chairman of the Discussion Committee finds it difficult to make this report. I shall have to depend upon very democratic methods and say that if I do not accurately interpret what the Committee believes, any member of the Committee will contradict me:

A number of questions have been asked this morning which, after all, come back to certain fundamental ideas that we would like to emphasize. In other words we shall not deal specifically with the different questions but rather point out what seem to us certain high spots to keep in mind in our consideration of *Industry and Race Relations.*

Both of the first two points relate to tendencies and movements in industry with which we must get in line when we are discussing race relations. The first fact to keep in mind is the development of what might be called more careful and scientific, as well as more social, personnel policies in industry. Industry has been learning that it must give special attention to the problems of relationships with employees in its own plant; that it must apply to those problems the methods of science; that it must test results by experiment; that if workers are to do their best in the plant they must be studied as individuals, they must be trained as individuals, they must be assigned to the right jobs, they must be transferred if they are not in the right job, there must be provision made for promoting them; there must be, in general, that attitude on the part of the plant and within the plant itself which gets the best results from the individual. The development of that movement in industry will tend toward a solution of the problem of race relations because it is all in the direction of substituting science and fairness of judgment for prejudice.

A second big movement which is more fundamental is what we must call, for lack of a better term, democracy in industry. A new recognition is coming of the fact that the workers must have a share in determining what the conditions of their employment shall be. As one member of the Committee puts it: "We do not question theoretical rights today. We must talk, not in terms of rights but in terms of function; that is to say, How make those rights real in practice?" We believe in brotherhood, we believe in democracy, but we do not get it by talking about it; we get it by discovering the methods whereby the workers may be related to problems of management, problems of production, and by what procedure they may be able to express their interests.

We have in industry a great unused force. This force is the ideas of the man at the bench. Management has tended to pronounce orders and to expect all the workers, like a regiment, to follow along. That policy results in the routine attitude toward work which management itself complains of. The manager who reverses that procedure finds new problems on his hands, but he also finds that his job of management is a good deal more interesting. Managers are finding that the efficiency of an organization is increased when the workmen coöperate as a group with management so that the ideas of the men at the bench are reflected in the decisions of managerial officials. This whole economic problem of race relations may well be approached by study of the methods whereby the democratic idea is made to function in industry. In large scale industry the democratic idea can only work through organization because groups of people can not be represented unless they are organized. We must study what type of organization produces the desired results.

And now a word must be said about the particular problem of transient labor. The statement was made that in one place colored workers lost their

chance to work because they were transients. One member of the Committee is anxious to have attention called to this fact,—that when the industries of the North have sent out labor scouts to the South to get laborers, they have been concerned with getting a certain number of workers regardless of quality. That has resulted in bringing workers to the North and then turning them loose in the community. In the North they have no ties; they are put in bunkhouses close to the job; they do not become part of the community. Naturally they become transient labor, and the problem goes back to the methods of recruiting which are the real cause. Industry, therefore, becomes responsible to the community for the result.

As to the specific recommendations of the Committee: The Committee feels that this Conference, judging from the discussion and questions which have been raised, would like, first, to have provision made for a long continued study of the relation of the American labor movement to colored workers, and it, therefore, recommends to the Commissions in charge of this Conference that they consider asking the American Federation of Labor to appoint or nominate a representative to serve in an advisory capacity to those Commissions with the idea of developing a policy and giving both movements a chance to work together on their common problem.

The second recommendation is that the local interracial committees provide for a much more intimate knowledge of labor problems in their own communities by one or all of these three methods: First, by study of the local situation. For that study groups could be organized which could take advantage of the available material accumulating about labor problems, and their racial aspects. They should study industrial relations in their bearing upon the local situation. That is the first step.

The second is very important: To establish contacts with those persons who represent the two points of view,—the point of view of labor in your community and the point of view of the employer. Those contacts you will have to work out in accordance with your local situation. But the suggestion made here by one local Interracial Committee which has on its membership a local labor leader is worth your noting. We suggest also including those representatives of management who are giving the most scientific attention to these problems, so that you will have within your own group for conference those who are prepared to advise with you on these questions.

Finally, we believe that industrial relations offer the greatest opportunity today for the working out of the social message of Christianity. Where the principles of Christ prevail you will find recognition of the manhood of the workers in terms of their practical relation to management and to the determination of conditions which affect them. Conversely, the struggle for humanity in industry, with all its blood and suffering through the past, is the kind of human struggle for an ideal which will make possible the reflowering of Christianity in our communities.

The Chairman: You hear the findings of this Committee. A motion will be in order. (Mr. Brown of Des Moines moved the adoption of the report.) (Report was unanimously adopted.)

THE EAGAN PLAN OF EMPLOYEE OWNERSHIP

Miss Van Kleeck: Before throwing open the conference for further discussion we wish now to have presented to you a plan of relationships within a plant which has a very appropriate place in this conference because it was devised by Mr. Eagan, the first Chairman of the Commission on Race Relations of the Federal Council

of Churches and of the Commission on Interracial Coöperation, who was one of the prime movers in this interracial movement as a practical working organization. Mr. Eagan's plant is the American Cast Iron Pipe Co. of Birmingham, Ala., and Mr. C. D. Barr, vice-president of the company and in charge of active operations, will describe to us the ideas back of the plan of industrial relations which is in effect there.

Mr. Barr spoke as follows: Friends, after this discussion this morning and the report of the Committee, I don't know whether this will be in order or not. However, I am going to attempt, in fifteen minutes to outline briefly what we know as the Eagan plan. John J. Eagan was the organizer of our company nearly twenty years ago. In December, 1921, he accepted the presidency on one condition: that the guiding principles of the business be the principles of Jesus Christ. And I want to testify here that we believe there is no solution of the race problem outside of the principles and teachings of Jesus Christ, and I think that applies to industry as well.

He said the aim of our business was to be service. Jesus said He came into the world to serve and not to be served. Now, service in our case is divided into three classes: First, to the public; second, to the employees; third, to the stockholders. You will notice that that is the reverse of the usual order of business. Unfortunately for us, Mr. Eagan died a year ago next Monday. In leaving us he willed the plant to us forever. He was the only common stockholder, having called in all outstanding common stock, and he willed the common stock to the employees of the plant to be held in trust forever, so that now the employees and stockholders become one, and we have two lines of service, to the public who buy our stuff and to ourselves as employees and owners of the business. We are manufacturing cast iron fittings for the supply of water and gas to the cities throughout the United States, thus serving public service corporations and municipalities.

In carrying out this idea of service we have four groups interested: The workmen, the managers, the owners, and the public. Here again the grouping has been reduced by Mr. Eagan's death in that the owners constitute the workers and managers. Mr. Eagan started on a premise that three principles were involved: These groups of people should share in the failure or success of the business; they should share in a knowledge of the company's business; they should share in the profits or losses. Those are three principles I think we can take without argument.

Now to operate this thing in some definite form, he left it in control of a series of boards. The employees of the plant annually elect ten men known as the Board of Operators. The heads of the four principal divisions of the business are known as the Board of Management, composed of the president, two vice-presidents and the treasurer. These two Boards, constituted of fourteen men, are the legal trustees of the common stock, and annually they meet as any other Board of Stockholders would meet in any corporation, and elect the Board of Directors. This Board of Directors, as any other Board in any corporation, elects officers too, and these officers are burdened with the responsibility of running our plant just as any foundry or manufacturing institution is run in your city.

There are three practical expressions of Christianity that we are trying to apply in our business. You and I can understand that this idea of Christianity in business is so big that if we tried to express it all it would become hazy and indefinite. But three concrete results we set out as being definite. Christianity in business would mean a reasonable living wage to every workman; second, as far as possible, regular employment for each employee, and, third, the actual application of the teachings of Jesus Christ

in all our dealings one with another, whether it is by the men in a department, between departments or between the management and the workman.

Some people say, What do you do with the money if you make any? You will bear in mind that no money is paid outside of the organization to anybody except 6% on the preferred stock, which represents the actual money put into the plant. Therefore, the first demand on our earnings is 6% on the preferred stock. That must be paid. It is cumulative. Second, reserves must be set up to take care of our business in a bad year. That is regular in all business. So we set up reasonable reserves to protect our business in case of falling markets, unemployment, etc.

The third claim is old age pension. The greatest fear in the mind of the working public today is: What is going to become of me when I get old? If you ask the question you will find it in your plant. The primary question in the workman's mind is: What will become of me or my family when I am old? We have a pension fund now approaching $40,000 set aside to take care of workmen when too old to work. That is the third charge upon our earnings.

Then, fourth, comes a living wage. These ten employees elected as a Board, meet, investigate and allow what is a living minimum wage in Birmingham. We pay that wage; then if there is any money left it becomes extra compensation, and the extra compensation is paid to all employees on an equal basis. The colored man pushing the wheelbarrow gets the same extra amount per day as the man superintending the plant.

Many people today will say that is Bolshevistic; it is communistic. Well, it isn't. If you buy a share of U. S. Steel Co. stock and John D. Rockefeller buys one, he gets the same dividend as you do. This year we are paying every man as we did last year, a dollar a day for every day he worked last year. If a man worked straight through three hundred days he gets $300. That is extra compensation being paid to him. The service to the public is to make a meritorious product. We must, also, serve our employees. I am interested in the Service Department. What we know as the Service Department takes in everything pertaining to goodwill, the relations between the employees and the management. In 1924 we spent $213,000 in maintaining the goodwill department.

You say: Where did all that money go? We maintained a medical service that cost $36,000. We furnished a complete medical service to all employees and all of their families free of charge. We have a mutual benefit association that pays a man $8 a week for thirteen consecutive weeks if he is off sick, or prevented by injury from working. That cost last year some $20,000. At the same time the Y. M. C. A. which corresponds to the church, looks after the spiritual side of our relations in the plant. We run a restaurant serving 1,500 to 2,000 meals a day. We have a coöperative store where goods are sold at cost to all employees. Last year the business was $330,000. We maintain an active athletic course, a home building department which builds a home for any employee who can produce 10% of the cost in cash. We recently completed an addition to our colored school which stands as an investment of $30,000—one of the finest school buildings in Birmingham. We maintain educational classes constantly, day and night, at the plant for the men who are at work and who cannot attend the regular school. We run picture shows along with our educational campaign. We publish a plant paper known as the *Acipco News*, which comes out monthly.

Some other things took part of this $213,000. For instance, every workman gets a vacation of one week on full pay. We pay a service bonus of $32 a year for every year of continuous service. Last year I had the pleasure along with the rest of drawing my check of $32. Every employee who works every day the plant runs gets a turkey for his Christmas dinner. I have known a man who refused to be carried out of the plant on a stretcher when he was sick, because he might lose that turkey.

Last year 387 men worked every day the plant ran. We have 1,500 employees, about 1,100 colored, 400 white, that is including office, supervision and everything. Of the day wage men, 387 worked every day the plant ran. Out of that 1,500 about 1,250 are day wage workers. Out of the 1,250, 548 lost less than five days in the year. They are not transient in our plant.

I think labor turnover is a primary test of any plant. The average labor turnover in the Birmingham district would probably be 25%. At our plant in 1924 there was an average of 1.7%. In 1910, as far back as my records go, the average daily earning of each employee in the plant was $1.80. In 1924 the average earning was $5.11. The population of Birmingham is about 200,000—120,000 white, 80,000 colored. I think that Acipco is the acme of that colored population, and I think you will conclude from that labor turnover that we are not far from right.

Our medical service is complete in every detail. We maintain specialists on salary for all departments. We now have a baby specialist, holding a baby clinic twice a week. In 1920 the infant death rate in Birmingham was for whites 86.9, colored 191.5; in 1924, white 68.8, colored 80.9, a reduction of more than 60%.

George W. Thompson (Akron, Ohio): I would like to ask the speaker if he has any figures on the death rate for his own particular plant as compared with Birmingham.

Mr. Barr: We have no figures; but it is less than 50% of the Birmingham death rate.

Ernest T. Atwell (Philadelphia, Pa.): Are there any colored officers in this organization?

Mr. Barr: No.

Philo C. Dix (Louisville, Ky.): How are the managers chosen?

Mr. Barr: It is rather hard to answer, except that the boards are already elected as it was a going business, and only in so far as officers have dropped out of it and the supervision has been changed, due to economic conditions, has there been any such question raised. The Board of Directors is elected annually and is automatically constituted by the existing officers, who can be removed. No Negroes are on the Board of Operatives. They have a Board of ten, elected as the Board of Managers of the Y. M. C. A., which has charge of the religious division of the plant, but every man has an equal vote in choosing these men, so the Negroes have two or three votes to the white man's one.

Mr. Dix: Is it understood that they are to continue white?

Mr. Barr: It is understood that the Board of Operatives will be white men.

Mr. Dix: Do the colored men have a vote?

Mr. Barr: The colored men have a vote as well as the white men, but it is understood that they are to be white men.

Mr. Dix: What is your idea of the democratic spirit affecting this that will remove the barrier?

Mr. Barr: I have no idea but that it will, but at present most

of our employees can neither read nor write, and you will all agree it will be unreasonable to place the management in a Board of Directors who can neither read nor write.

Mr. Dix: That isn't in the will?

Mr. Barr: No.

Mr. Dix: If a man drops out, does he take anything with him?

Mr. Barr: If a man drops out it is left to his successor in the business, and that applies to the officers as well as to the workmen.

E. C. Wareing (Cincinnati, Ohio): I would like to raise the question how human nature stands up under this bountiful provision that is made to relieve it to such an extent that things become easier. What kind of reaction does human nature give to it? I raise this question because it is being raised now by such men as L. P. Jacks in his *Challenge of Life and Cultural Responsibility,* in which he is condemning the careful provision that human nature shall not find it too easy, for, in doing so, it does not get along very well.

Miss Van Kleeck: I am tempted to answer by saying that human nature here stays on the job so long that it misses only five days a year.

Mr. Barr: I am very much afraid to say anything that might appear to be boasting. There has been too much said about Christianity in industry. I would rather say, if you want to know the effects upon human nature, come down and see us.

Mr. Wareing: Why don't you teach those men to read and write?

Mr. Barr: We are carrying on schools day and night and have a thirty-thousand dollar schoolhouse.

Mr. Wareing: May I ask this question concerning my own thought: Is it true that at any place where the plan may be defeated by the weakness of human nature, that they could anticipate that and build up against it reinforcements so that the plant would not be betrayed by the weakness of human nature; is that correct?

Mr. Barr: I can't clearly understand what you mean.

Mr. Wareing: I mean this: That every time any group of men make a provision such as you have done, to make it easier for us in our work-a-day world, there is an element in human nature that will take advantage of it and not rise to give the best service to the opportunity. Now, in putting that down upon a group of men, you always have to take into account that element in human nature. You have done that?

Mr. Barr: Yes, sir.

Mr. Wareing: Then, do I infer that, in doing this, you have

sought to reinforce at the place where the weakness of human nature would defeat the plan?

Mr. Barr: A great many people accuse us of doing things for them. But do not misunderstand me. I am doing it with them, and I am a higher officer elected by these employees to do this work for them.

Mr. Wareing: That is what I have in mind in raising this question.

Mr. Barr: Our plant operated for twelve years before it was turned over to us, and a great many of these things had been ironed out before it became our project. But Mr. Eagan said that if we failed it may be that in the failure we can advance the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and He had to die and go into the grave to advance His own Kingdom.

Chandler Owen (New York City): I was just about to ask you the question, can you tell me whether or not a number of these men who have been there a number of years are being promoted regularly and now are doing skilled labor and getting a first class price for their labor?

Mr. Barr: I couldn't give it as a matter of percentage but a large number of our colored employees have reached a scale of $7, $8 and $9 a day, which are fairly good wages.

Mr. Owen: There is no segregation in the advancement?

Mr. Barr: No, sir, the white and colored mechanics of a like trade are not working in the same foundry; they are separated.

Mr. Owen: You practice entire segregation in your plant?

Mr. Barr: No, but in the classified trades they are separated. In our main manufacturing plant they work side by side on like jobs. So far as our plant is concerned, the race problem has never entered into it.

Miss Belcher: I want to ask if a colored man can become a stockholder in that company—I mean, is stock sold at the present time?

Mr. Barr: Preferred stock is sold.

Miss Belcher: He could own preferred stock?

Mr. Barr: Oh, yes, and a very large number of them do. But that has no voting power and has nothing to do with the management of the company. The common stock is held jointly by every employee, and the minute a man is hired he becomes a stockholder in the same sense I am.

Miss Belcher: Is there any job in your plant that a well-trained, well-educated Negro could hold? You said the majority could not read or write. Is there any job there a well-educated man could hold?

Mr. Barr: Well, yes, the classification is largely controlled by the economic and developed condition of the South.

Miss Belcher: Can employees be dismissed?

Mr. Barr: Certainly, any foreman can discharge any employee for insubordination or misdemeanor or anything of that kind. But he has the right of appeal to the Board of Operatives, and if they reverse his discharge it is brought to the management for final settlement. Every man has the right of appeal, but you cannot take the control of labor out of the hands of management and expect to get anywhere.

Chairman: The time has about expired. We want to allow Miss Van Kleeck three minutes to close the discussion.

Miss Van Kleeck: It has not been the aim of the Committee to have this a session in which questions would be answered or this problem solved. What we are trying to do is to get before you something of the complexity of the problem, to show you what one plant has been able to do; to consider what the labor movement is trying to achieve despite all the difficulties of adjustment; and to go away from this gathering with many questions in our minds, convinced that we have here a problem which we cannot solve in a session of a conference, but which demands thorough study in our various communities. As a means of studying these problems the great need of the interracial movement is demonstrated. By furthering the organization of the interracial movement nationally and in states and in localities we shall put the white and the colored races in a position to study together the problem of industry, and to study it as a whole, with race relations as a part of that whole. Hence, what the Committee wishes to suggest is study, understanding, and particularly open-minded attention to the development of new experiments and new ideas. We are very grateful for the part you have all taken in this conference.

Chairman: Just before I surrender the chair I want to make you a three-minute speech. I am going home today at three o'clock, and I am going home with these impressions. To me this has been a most remarkable gathering, remarkable in its purposes, remarkable in its perspective. Who could have anticipated a meeting of this kind twenty years ago? When we consider that we have had here a large number of young men and young women from the white schools of this country, north and south, and older men and older women of the two races, to come here and study the questions in which we are all interested, it indicates to me that, after all, God is moving in this world for the betterment and for the uplift of all the people.

Personally, there are other questions which I wish you would study, but I know the time has not come for the study of all the questions in which the Negro personally is interested. This question of race prejudice is one of the most complex and one of the most difficult problems with which we have to deal. It is a question which time alone can solve. We all know that great movements move slowly, and time, which enters as a factor in the solution of all other problems, does enter the solution of those problems which God has to solve. God waited forty years to lead His people out of Egypt into the Land of Canaan. The race waited two hundred and fifty years before the Negro could be emancipated.

The observation which I make here is this, and it is not a new observation: It is going to take years, many years, to solve the problems which we are now studying. They will not be solved in my day, and, may I further add, they will not be solved in your day. You will never live to see the Negro given all the rights and privileges of this country which a white man enjoys. Personally, I never wished that I was a white man. I am well contented with my color. I can wash my hands when they are dirty; I can buy a new suit of clothes when I need one; I can wash my face when it is unclean; but I can't change my color, and for that very reason we ought to have a movement of larger sympathy for the white man. I sympathize with him. I am sorry for him. I was once a slave. It is a mighty hard matter for him to look upon me as his equal. Religion does not solve all problems. I have discovered that and so have you. You remember that Peter—weak, vacillating, impulsive—was the very same Peter after his conversion. He went from Jerusalem down to Antioch and was ashamed to let the Jews from Jerusalem see him mixing up with the Gentiles down at Antioch.

Race prejudice is one of the worst perils we have to contend with, and, may I add in conclusion, there can be no peace for this country until prejudice is abolished. I am willing to work and to wait and see to the process of the education of these young men and these young women who are appearing in the white race to be our friends until those of our race who are coming on can enter into a larger day and into a larger field, which is now our purpose.

(Moved and unanimously adopted that Bishop Phillips and Miss Van Kleeck and her Committee be extended a vote of thanks for the efficient way in which they have carried out the program this morning.)

SUMMARY OF THE DISCUSSION ON

VII. INDUSTRY AND RACE RELATIONS *

Question for discussion was, How can progress be made in improving the economic status of Negroes? It was agreed that certain ideas were accepted and needed no discussion, such as (1) Economic status is basic factor in problems of social and living conditions; (2) Every human being should have opportunity to do work requiring his best capacity; (3) Colored workers cannot progress in industry without regard to the progress of labor generally.

Reports from various communities showed differences in different places. Migration of skilled Negroes from South has opened up new industrial opportunities. In some industries and some cities colored workers receive less pay than white for the same work; elsewhere their pay is equal. War conditions gave the Negroes their first opportunity in industry. Now restriction of immigration continues the tendency and as percentage of foreign-born decreases, proportions of Negroes increase. Two obstacles must be overcome: Inertia of white employer and indifference or prejudice of white employes. Evidence of success and efficiency elsewhere is the best means of persuading employers to take on Negroes. Some criticisms of colored workers as transient, undependable workers was traced to wholesale methods of recruiting in the South by agents of northern mills and to lack of home ties in the North. Colored workers employed in personnel departments of plants can facilitate adjustments of members of their race.

Instances were given of refusal of labor unions to admit Negroes to membership or of discrimination against them in employment. In trade unions to which they have been admitted they have been loyal members. It was declared that the American Federation of Labor was eager to organize colored workers. The prejudice of trade unionists was explained as due to the fact that Negroes have been willing to accept less wages than the white man. Some employers have let it be known that they would give opportunities to Negroes provided they refrained from joining unions, and leaders of the colored race, in their desire to open up industrial opportunities, have been willing to discourage colored workers from joining.

Hope for the future lies in development of scientific personnel work which tends to eliminate prejudice; and in some form of democracy in industry which gives the workers a share in determining conditions of work. It was recommended that study groups be formed to secure information about industrial relations in their bearing upon local conditions and that interracial committees include representatives of trade unions and of management, particularly personnel workers who are best informed about problems of employment.

* Prepared by Miss Mary Van Kleeck, Director, Dept. of Industrial Studies, Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

Chapter VIII

THE COURTS AND RACE RELATIONS *

Chairman: We are a little late, yet by the kind of team work we have done so splendidly during the session past, we can, I think, overtake the time we have lost. The topic is the *Courts and Race Relations.* Dr. Cox, chairman of the Discussion Committee, is to open the subject.

Dr. Gilbert S. Cox (Columbus, Ohio): All of you will recognize this topic for discussion as falling in a little different category and fraught with more dangers than was inherent in some of the topics that have been under discussion here. It would be very interesting if we had time to accumulate more of the facts upon which we might base our discussion, but I feel that we had better take for granted that there are a good many difficulties, some discriminations and other things which might be recited here with great interest to all of us in the various processes of law.

May I suggest two or three things: For instance, what is being done in your communities about furnishing legal aid to those who ought to have it? What is being done in your communities about our juvenile courts and probation officers and the various assignments of youth? What is being done in your communities about the migratory groups? These three questions I think will cover the more pertinent practical points that we have time for, as you realize.

Being a Methodist it is perfectly natural for me to start the meeting by a word myself. In Columbus we called the chief of police into council not long ago and inquired of him the main sources of crime. After a discussion, it was discovered that the largest amount of crime and the most trouble that come to the court, come from the strangers in our midst or the migratory groups of people who are just passing through. After we discovered that fact we addressed ourselves to what we could do about it. After a good many conferences with the chief and mayor and other officers of the city, we had appointed a colored officer, one of the most splendid, and best educated and representative officers on our police force, a

* Friday 2:00 P.M. March 27; President Gilbert H. Jones, Wilberforce University, presiding.

man who is to be assigned to our own Interracial Committee, and work under our direction and suggestion with this particular group from which the greatest amount of crime comes. He will work not as a detective or police officer, but as a friend and a brother and an instructor to those who come among us who are not yet accustomed to our ways. We look with great hope on that movement and feel that our chief of police has gone all the way, at least as far as this particular item is concerned, in furnishing us with this particular officer. It is just such things as that, it seems to me, we need to know about. For that reason a composite picture of the method being pursued will be very valuable.

Chairman: The floor is open to anyone who wishes to discuss the matter. I believe they agreed to limit the speakers to three minutes.

NEGROES FORM LARGE PROPORTION OF PRISON INMATES

Mr. Plaskett: I am one of the officers of the Executive Committee of the Christian Aid Society, composed of white people and one Negro, and I asked, before coming here, for a statement from the warden, that I might present accurate information as to one particular penitentiary. Although I did not get the information in time, I have here a statement from a practicing attorney in New Jersey, the facts of which I will just give to the Conference. The New Jersey State Prison has about 1,000 inmates, 400 of which are Negroes; the Jamesburg State Reform School, about 600 inmates, 60 of whom are colored; Reformatory at Rahway, 500 inmates, 75 colored; Caldwell, Essex County Penitentiary, 300 inmates, 125 colored; Clinton Reform School for Women, 300 inmates, 100 colored; State Home for Girls, Trenton, inmates 200, colored 60.

These figures have been gathered hastily, and the authority for them is Rev. Van Pelt, our colored state chaplain, taken not from any data that he has at hand but taken from what he can tell offhand. These figures might be considered approximate. Nevertheless, the increase in inmates for the past few years has been every bit of 50 per cent. One of the outstanding features of the whole situation is the apparent ignorance of the migrants from the South of the laws of the land, and especially so with reference to the carrying and invariable use of knives, pistols, and dangerous weapons of various kind. You will note that the smallest percentage of inmates in any of the institutions above named is at Jamesburg Reform School for Boys where the youth of our state are incarcerated and there we find out of 600 inmates there are only sixty colored.

It is my opinion that the crime is due to the migrants and their ignorance to a great extent. For these sixty colored boys, this 10 per cent at the Reform School at Jamesburg, they might be said to be boys born in Jersey and raised there.

The Negroes' status in the courts of New Jersey is very good. I might explain from a legal standpoint that in my opinion there is no prejudice shown because of his ignorance. A notable instance thereof is that immediately upon the arrest of a white person they are asked to make a statement. They readily, from the standpoint of their intelligence, refuse until they have consulted counsel, the right which belongs to every citizen. The Negro immediately upon his arrest becomes friendly with the officer making the arrest, in the greater number of instances, jovial, and as a result thereof immediately opens his heart, mind and soul, and pours out a full statement which is readily reduced to writing, and thus becomes a piece of evidence against him. My experience of five years has taught me that 90 per cent of the arrests made by officers of the law of Negroes are invariably those of colored persons who are guilty—that is to say, I do not feel that arrests are made in New Jersey, that is, that part of New Jersey which I have worked, merely because a man is colored. And I might add also we have a very good probation system and we have the various church organizations, and women workers in connection with the probation officers.

Mr. Greene: I think some of the statements made by the preceding speaker are a picture of the situation we have in our city. I had occasion to go to the Morals Court in Pittsburgh, and out of nineteen people twelve of them were colored. I went from there to the grand jury room, and out of fifty cases thirty-five of them were colored. That led me to believe that the number of my folk in proportion to the population is tremendously top heavy so far as criminals in Pittsburg are concerned.

Now, as to arrests made there is practically no difference in the arrests, but we do find a difference when sending these folk to jail or prison. Colored folk, due to some reason, because they are not familiar with the laws and various other things, usually commit themselves or incriminate themselves before they have a chance for trial. I was on the jury about the last two weeks in January, and two-thirds of the cases in which our folks were involved were cases that had been persuaded to plead guilty and, of course, they were the cases that were decided by the judge who sentenced them. Now, we feel that education is the thing that is going to help in that difficulty. We have particularly in the Morals Court a woman who has done some very remarkable work in instructing those people

about what to do. Then she helps the judge, too, in the Morals Court, interpreting some of the conditions my folk are up against. Something about the boys' Y. M. C. A. work, those who have been doing that work, have been very successful in finding big brothers, and in a way the situation is improving. It can only be done through education.

THE RELATION OF NEGROES TO THE COURTS

Mrs. Lawson: I wonder if Chicago might tell something of the problems we are having in our court situation there, through our representative who is here from the *Chicago Defender,* and who has been a court worker twelve or fifteen years; I suggest Mrs. Speedy, of the *Chicago Defender,* who might tell us something about our courts.

Mrs. Nettie Speedy (Chicago, Ill.): I can speak for Chicago alone, as I have had fourteen years' experience in Chicago courts. I am very proud to say in every court in Chicago we have colored representatives. In the municipal court we have a judge, and in the United States courts we have a United States attorney; we have five assistant prosecutors and six assistants to the Corporation Counsel. We have four colored coroners, one member in the state senate and five in the house and a deputy sheriff. We have workers in the municipal and juvenile courts. We have one woman who has been in the juvenile court seven years, and every court officer has to report to her as the head clerk. We have attorneys of our race and representatives on the police force.

Mr. Atwell: I have had some experience with the criminal after he has been through the courts, as a member of the board of trustees of the Eastern State Penitentiary. Probably the only colored member of the trustees on the parole board that I know of in America. My experience has been that there are several questions involved in the matter of treatment in the courts. One is the economic question, the question of having enough money to defend one's self. In most legal aid societies in the various cities (and I think that is a work for which the interracial committees locally can be of great assistance) there has not been developed enough interest for the protection of the Negro. That is probably true of a great many of our organizations where we think in terms of white people. So I would suggest a practical way to make a contribution in this direction, would be to organize some sort of a committee in connection with your interracial committee that will seek to discover how

we can assist and help not only the criminal as he reaches the court, but in his rehabilitation.

Woodford S. Smith (Springfield, Ohio): We have one bailiff in the courts of Springfield, and as far as justice is concerned we have no complaints; one group is treated the same as another.

Rev. W. C. Orton (Louisville, Ky.): We have had most of the reports from the North. We have the pendulum swinging too far one way or the other. The courts are either too severe or too lenient with our colored folk. By investigation in one police court I find that last year one-third of the Negroes who were arrested gave a bond and never came back. Of seventy-five who were arrested at a little entertainment one night where they were having a little jollification all of them put up five dollars each and the money was retained. They simply forfeit the bond and go out and do something else.

ATTENTION OF INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE NEEDED IN COURTS

Mr. Frazier: It seems to me every one in this room is aware that the Negro does not get anything resembling justice in the South. I take it we are met here to see how we can bring about justice for the Negro. The main question here is this, how can we get white people and colored people to work together to see that the Negro gets justice? If I was arrested in the South I would put up some money and not go back and that would not be a racial characteristic but the easiest way out of the situation.

As a concrete suggestion, I wonder if it would be possible for these interracial committees in the South as they develop to find, for instance, some strong legal mind who could be called upon in the situation. Suppose I should get arrested in Atlanta—and really I am serious about all this—I would like to be able to call upon somebody whose opinion in the court would influence them, because a white friend of mine told me to keep as far from the courts as possible. What are we doing to develop sentiment in these communities in behalf of democratic, legal justice.

Dr. C. V. Roman (Nashville, Tenn.): A case came to my mind in answer to what Mr. Frazier said. One of the simplest ways to help justice is for those who are not accused—those who are considered the prosperous and favored ones—to take interest in the court. We had a club in Nashville—a club of college men—and had the city judge address that club and he made an impressive address and invited us to come down and see how justice was done in his court.

One day, two years after that, an ordinary well dressed, well

behaved but ignorant girl went to get on a street car and passed to a seat in front of a white man and got in trouble and they arrested her for passing in front contrary to our Jim Crow street-car law. She called her brother to let him know what it was and they arrested him. There happened to be somebody in there that knew her that put up the bond. The trial was set for the next day and I heard of it quite accidentally. I did not want to be noted, but I went to the court, the first time I had ever been in a police court. But the Judge evidently was sizing me up; he came and said "Doctor, how are you?" I said, "I was a long time accepting your invitation, Judge, but I thought I would come down and see how you administer justice." I said not a word about the girl! There was a hurried conference and this case was called and nobody was there to prosecute. The policeman was there, I found out afterwards, and the man was standing outside, but no one prosecuted. In three minutes the case was dismissed and the forfeit returned, just by my presence there, without saying a word. I did not know the accused party by name. That's the answer, Mr. Frazier. If you can get the well-to-do to take an interest; the best people in the world will work better when they know they are being checked up.

Bishop C. H. Phillips (Cleveland, Ohio): Just a word. It has been my observation that there is nothing the colored man wants more today than justice. It has been my observation in our courts in the South. I lived in the South a number of years; although I live in Cleveland now, I am a southern man and will die true to that section, and I did not leave it on account of bad treatment. But here is the trouble, Mr. Chairman. A colored man can get justice in the South if his interests do not conflict with the interest of the white man. Now, when the white man's interests are really against his, the outlook for the Negro is very doubtful. The fact of it is, two-thirds of our race problem is involved in that little word, justice. When the Negro gets justice, there's nothing else for him to get; everything else will dissolve. How to remedy the conditions that exist; that is one of the problems which confronts this body and it is a problem which confronts this country. All the Negro wants is simple, elementary justice.

Miss Howell: I want to suggest something that is probably out of order at this time. It is a slightly different angle of the racial justice question. We had one of the most flagrant cases of injustice in St. Louis, where a wealthy Tennessee white man shot and killed a Negro porter on a Pullman car in a dispute with the Pullman conductor. He did not deny the killing; the man did not

deny he was drunk. He did not have his ticket and the dispute was about that. The whole trial was simply a play in racial prejudice, but the twelve jurymen went out and acquitted him, although there was no denial that he was guilty. He was found to be justified because the porter—one of the men with whom he was having the dispute—was said to be a "fresh nigger." The newspapers took that up and treated it fairly as a clear injustice. There was not really a good prosecution. As I see it, the existence of that race prejudice in a community makes such a thing possible and our interracial committee cannot do anything about this case.

Dr. Cox: Nobody will be shut off in a discussion after the address, so we will have the address now and continue the discussion afterward. We shall have the pleasure of listening to Judge John F. Hager of Ashland, Ky., on *Courts and Race Relations.*

Judge Hager then spoke in part as follows:

I have no call on your program to discuss the minor and infinitely varied details of this important question, and pass them by after expressing the belief and hope that results of sobriety of action, tolerance of spirit and charity of opinion will have their perfect work in solving a problem which, to say the least, may be regarded as highly complex in nature.

Questions affected by racial antipathies are serious and complicated. I may be charged with undue optimism, yet when I see so many good people of the Southland honestly, without prejudice and animated by a sincere desire that these problems may be solved with full justice to our brother in black, like Paul of olden time, I thank God and take courage.

It is coming to be widely realized that a Constitution-loving people must give, not merely concede, the abstract rights of the Negro, but his actual constitutional rights as well. Good people are widely challenging transgressions of a recent amendment to our Constitution as subversive of law and order. I challenge every transgression of constitutional right, and say that a denial thereof cannot be suffered without ultimate and grievous hurt to the Constitution itself, and a grave injury to the citizen, be he white or black. Constitutional rights and privileges of every citizen being sacred, must be sacredly upheld. Upon no other postulate can the continued existence of a free republic be predicated. . . .

It is not relevant in the scope of my address to discuss whether or not the amendments should have been adopted, as, whether wisely or not, by the 14th and 15th Amendments, the Negro has, equally with every white citizen, every right and privilege secured to any other. As honest and Constitution-loving people we must acknowledge these rights to be as sacred, and to be as sacredly guarded, as similar rights of the whites.

Basing my statement upon the eternal foundation of history, precedent and universal experience, questions involved in giving them full effect cannot be settled until settled rightfully. The sense of eternal justice in the human heart decreed that slavery was wrong. It was right according to the letter of the law. It was supported by the most brilliantly equipped statesmen of the world. It had the approving sanction of the pulpits and the highest courts. Its sanctity was settled at the birth of the states, and by a later compromise was sealed by House and Senate. By friend and foe it was settled; by every means known to human relationship it was settled; but under the eternal and unchangeable principles of human right it was *not* settled. This brief allusion illustrates the question, and I accentuate

in saying that no question is finally settled until sealed in the forum of eternal justice, for—

> "Since God is God, and right is right,
> Right in the end shall win;
> To doubt would be disloyalty,
> To falter would be sin."

The time calls for plainness of speech, and that men stand before the world and not swerve in duty from the open light of discussion. . . . Let every man, black or white, know that if he complies with the law, whose equal and fair provisions compel him to be a better citizen of his country, he may attain to this status. Let good people everywhere resolve to overcome the difficulties along the way, and endeavor to accomplish an immediate and radical cure of this source of public ills.

Every argument of memory and experience teaches that the difficulties ahead are immensely helped in the direction of a more helpful, tolerant and broader liberty for the Negro. There has been no backward movement; it has been forward all the time. In courthouse, legislative halls, marts of business, in mining and industrial plants, I have noted, as every one must note, the unconscious change of sentiment in the direction of liberality toward the Negro throughout the South. I remember when the Negro's oath was not taken. Today an intelligent Negro on the witness stand is accepted without question. If he has been an honest man, no difference is discovered between him and a white man of equal character, unless it be a strong desire everywhere manifested to emphasize, on the part of the whites, a demonstration of special approval in the case of the colored man of character.

In business life his every step has encountered a protest, but the Negro has made his place in the march of affairs, and it is a cause of great felicitation that his feet are on the ascending steps of good citizenship. According to my observation, he is improving in character, in education, in morals, in material prosperity and in self-respect. Churches in which there is constantly increasing membership; homes where under their own vine and fig trees plenty and sweet content are to be found in increasing numbers, with thousands of intelligent students crowding the halls of learning where they find welcome, and on leaving, are filling every situation open to them with credit and character. These are among the harbingers foretelling the fruition of the hopes we now indulge concerning the future relations of whites and Negroes. It is creditable to the Negro to contrast his present condition with the emancipated white serf of Russia, and find that in every element of an enlightened citizenship the Negro has surpassed him.

Freedom and equality of justice are the basic conceptions of American law. Particular emphasis is accorded these fundamental principles in the 14th and other amendments. Equality before the law is the most important of all rights, because upon this principle the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness wholly depend. It is the cornerstone of our government—of laws and not of men. . . .

It is not enough, however, that the laws have provided for political and economic equality. However fair in and of itself, law is impotent to safeguard the rights of the citizen unless the administration of justice is in high sense impartial. Unless and until it is possible for the humblest to invoke the protection of the law for invasion of his free and equal rights, they vanish into nothingness. To take from the Negro a part of the burden which necessarily falls on him because either of poverty or race, and to see that he obtains in every proper case his legal rights, is coming to be realized as a part of the duty of every worthy man or woman. The existence of free government depends on making justice so impartial and effective that all men may have reason to believe in and rely upon the fairness and impartiality of its administration. I have faith in believing that denial of justice to the Negro, where it exists, and removal of the growing belief that justice is

denied them, can be prevented, and that it can be made clear to them and to every person, no matter how humble, that justice is accessible and attainable. May God speed the day when this prospect, dreamed of by the philosopher, the aim of the law-giver, the endeavor of the judge, and the ultimate test of every government and every civilization is the passionate desire of the human soul in its demand for equal and exact justice—a demand which has existed since man has wronged his fellowman. May this desire culminate in an era wherein the denial of justice on account of poverty or race shall forever be made impossible in free America. . . .

I do not despair that the people of the South, in even larger degree than those of the North, but together, will work out to its finality all these vexing problems, in love and in justice, to the ultimate glory of our civilization. That will leave to our children's children the priceless illustration of a people forgetting the sorrows and hatreds of other days, doing equal justice to every man of every color and condition, and in that measure answering Edmund Burke's superlative tribute to its meaning:

"There is one thing, and one thing only, which defies all mutation—that which existed before the world, and will survive the fabric of the world itself. I mean justice—that justice which, emanating from the Divinity, has a place in the breast of every one of us, given us for our guide with regard to ourselves and with regard to others, and which will stand after this globe is burned to ashes, our advocate or our accuser before the great Judge, when He comes to call upon us for the tenor of a well-spent life."

REPORT OF DISCUSSION COMMITTEE

Chairman: The Discussion Committee on Courts will now report.

Dr. Cox: We are handicapped by not having met before the Conference and the time since the discussion has been brief. All we have tried to do is to gather up some recommendations, the result of our conferences here. We only put down three or four things in the way of recommendation:

1. We look with great concern upon any injustice based upon race discriminations which occurs in our courts at the arrest or during the trial or imprisonment of the Negro, and we call upon the Interracial Commission to study the cause of crime and to form plans for the close coöperation with our juvenile courts, especially in the matter of paroles and the furnishing of means for legal advice wherever it is possible.

2. We commend, also, an educational program to be carried on by the various churches and social agencies among the migrants, for the prevention of misunderstandings, and the infraction of the law.

3. Where Negroes do not have the right of franchise, we commend to the interracial committees the creation of public opinion for that right, and in encouraging the placing of Negroes upon juries where any large number of their race is found.

4. We urge the appointment of Negro police and probation officers, also, where there is any large number of the race.

Rev. Chas. W. Burton of Chicago is responsible for one of these planks in this platform, and I will give him an opportunity to state what he has in mind.

RELATION OF NEGRO TO THE BALLOT AND THE COURTS

Dr. Burton: The recommendation I am responsible for is the one which relates to giving the Negro the ballot. You heard Mrs. Speedy enumerate the various court positions that Negroes hold in Chicago. There is a very definite reason for this and that reason is that the Negroes are so placed that they can say whether or not a certain judge will be reëlected or not or elected for the first time. It seems to me that is the fundamental thing of this question of injustice in our courts, whether they be in the South or North. The Negro should be given, ultimately, the right of franchise as a factor and weapon that he can successfully use for his own protection. So I feel the least this Conference can do—this National Interracial Conference—would be to go on record as approving and requesting the local interracial committees everywhere, to create a public sentiment in favor of giving the Negro his constitutional right wherever it is denied him. I believe the fair-minded men and women, whether they be Christians or Jews, will support such a resolution.

Dr. Cox: Mr. Dabney, who filled a place on this Committee, will also speak about another portion of this report.

W. P. Dabney (Cincinnati, Ohio): I am responsible, primarily, for the brief proposal in regard to the police. A political experience of twenty-five years had taught me the major portions of the arrests occur simply through the police, and they are largely influenced, in a great majority of instances, by the prejudice they feel. I have seen hundreds and hundreds of cases where the police would make arrests arbitrarily of colored people, letting white people guilty of the same offense go on unless forced to arrest them. Every one who has had public experience knows that is true. It is one of the causes of the great number of colored people arrested. The remedy I suggest is that the interracial committees make it a business to try and educate the sense of right and justice on the police force and that will benefit us immensely.

Dr. Cox: One remark should be made on that. We want to uncover any facts. Many have remarked about the larger proportion of the colored people in prisons. Here is a fact that was brought out by a little investigation I made the other day at the Ohio State Penitentiary, and a point that helps a little. I said, "How do you account for this?" The warden said, "Here is one way we account for so many being here. In the first place, the colored man so often receives a much longer sentence for the same crime than the white man, so it seems, therefore, there are more here. But," he said, "they simply stay longer."

And then there is the second item about their staying longer which also ought to be brought to mind. That is, whereas for white prisoners there are always organizations or individuals or officials working for their release, and many of them are released, the other crowd of prisoners are left to serve their full time, so statistics like that are rather dangerous; when you go into a prison and count them up that does not always mean what it says. Somebody said there are several kinds of liars, statistical liars being among them.

Attorney Alexander H. Martin (Cleveland, Ohio): May I say a word? What I want to suggest is, those who have discussed this most important subject seem to think that the only justice we ought to concern ourselves about is that which relates to criminal things. When we listen to remarks such as made by Bishop Phillips that in the southland the colored man is practically denied justice, it seems we have not handled this proposition at all; and even this Conference is inclined to accept the situation, to take it for granted, and not really rise to the occasion to put on an inquiry to see if it can be remedied.

As a matter of fact, Congress started the movement after the Civil War to rehabilitate the colored man, so that for him this nation could be said to have for its purpose the establishment of justice. We have not it in sight even, with ten millions of blacks who are citizens. It seems to me we have not attained that standard of excellence in considering this subject. Why not? I would rather see, Mr. Chairman, this matter be referred for further consideration, when we can bring forth a report or set of suggestions that will get down under the proposition to the root of the matter.

Now, as a matter of fact, where does the Negro stand if he cannot claim the protection of the courts? He is supposed to have it in most states of the Union and this Conference ought to go on record in a different fashion with reference to police procedure or the ballot. It is the law he should have the ballot. I want to get down to the foundation of these questions and bring forth something for thought that will cause, as the months go by, a revulsion from the present unhappy condition, remembering, as was well said last night, if ten millions are denied justice there is no justice for anybody.

S. Joe Brown: This Committee has made some very definite recommendations, and I feel the courtesy is due them that we approve those recommendations, and I make such a motion.

Chairman: Motion is made and seconded that the recommendations of the Committee be approved. Are you ready for the question?

Bishop W. J. Walls (Charlotte, N. C.): I have an idea that the Committee should put its statements in more definite form. I am rather of the opinion of Mr. Martin with reference, for instance, to the police and service on juries. Those things are not amplified enough. They are not made measures of methods and suggestions by which the things could be accomplished. I think the Committee should be given opportunity at the next session to set itself some definite resolutions, insisting upon carrying out the law in these matters, and particularly urging the Negro to do his part, and a great deal he can do. He can be made alive to his responsibility in helping bring these things to pass—not by entering politics, but by doing his share in education and carrying his responsibility. I would like to amend the motion that the Committee be given a chance to work this out.

Chairman: The amendment is made; do I hear a second?

A Voice: We might ask, Mr. Chairman, if they have time to meet and make more specific suggestions. I second the amendment.

Dr. Cox: I would like to say, as far as this Committee is concerned, that we are through. If you want something else, we are perfectly willing to give it to you. We stated, in so many words, that we looked with grave concern on any injustice anywhere, in any court, to any arrest or any imprisonment passed on any racial discrimination. I do not know how we could say it in English any plainer. If you want it said plainer, as far as I am concerned as Chairman of the Committee, I am willing that someone else should, but I cannot do it any better than that.

Bishop Walls: I will withdraw the amendment and that will get us out of this difficulty.

Chairman: The motion is to approve the recommendation of the Committee. Any further discussion?

(Question was called for, and the motion was put to vote and carried.)

Chairman: That closes the report of the Committee. We shall now have to close this topic and turn the Conference to the question: *Schools and Colleges and Race Relations.*

SUMMARY OF THE DISCUSSION ON VIII. COURTS AND RACE RELATIONS *

A. Problems and Difficulties

1. In most places the Negro does not receive full justice in the white court; especially in the South.

* Prepared by Professor Earle Edward Eubank, Department of Sociology, University of Cincinnati.

2. Ignorance and low economic condition give him a criminal ratio out of proportion to his numbers.
3. Longer prison sentences gives him a disproportionate share of the prison population.
4. Legal aid societies tend to favor whites.
5. Difficulty in getting bail and defense funds.

B. Evidence of Progress

1. Negro policemen in various cities, especially in Columbus, where one is appointed in friendly aid and counsel to the Negro.
2. Negro representation at law increasing. For example, in Chicago: A Negro representative in every court, a Federal Attorney, five assistant prosecutors, six assistant corporation counsels, one state senator, five state representatives, one deputy sheriff, chief clerk of Juvenile Court, etc.

Chapter IX

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES AND RACE RELATIONS *

Chairman: I believe, my friends, we are ready now to go ahead with our program. We have now the topic: *Schools and Colleges and Race Relations,* with Professor Earle E. Eubank, Professor of Sociology, University of Cincinnati, as chairman of the Discussion Committee.

Professor Earle E. Eubank (Cincinnati, O.): The Discussion Committee, in arranging the plans for this presentation, has felt there were four natural divisions of the question, inasmuch as the topic has included Public Schools and Colleges. They are subdivided by the fact that we have two different policies in regard to each of these, the South having the policy of separate schools and the North the policy of students in mixed schools; so there are four separate divisions of the subject.

I shall ask one person to present the questions that seemed to the Committee to be of major importance among the many that could have been presented, if there had been time. The idea is that in three-minute brief statements from the floor the leading questions, as the Committee sees them, will be presented to the Conference and then in whatever time we have we would like to have the Conference address itself to one or the other of those questions. We shall ask that your discussion be just as direct as possible. The first of the four divisions is that of the public schools as they are found in sections of the country where there is a separation of the two races. Dr. James Bond of Louisville, Ky., will present the questions upon this.

ADVANTAGES OR DISADVANTAGES OF SEPARATE SCHOOLS

Dr. Bond: Mr. Chairman, I have not been asked to discuss the questions but to ask them. It is easier to ask questions than to answer. You are expected to answer. First, What are the advantages and disadvantages of separate schools? This Committee wants your judgment on this question. Are there any advantages in separate

* Friday afternoon, 3:30, March 27; President Gilbert H. Jones, Wilberforce University, presiding.

public schools, and if so, what are they? Are there any disadvantages? If so, what are they?

The second question they want you to answer is, What suggestions would you make as to the ways of maintaining the friendly attitude in the school—interracial attitude—how in mixed schools or in separate schools would you maintain a friendly attitude, assuming that these interracial relations up to a certain point are friendly? Boys and girls while being educated are trained away from the friendly attitude. How can they be maintained from the cradle?

Third question is, How to get a proper share of public school funds for colored people? How to obtain an equitable distribution of public funds? There is a long story about the use of public funds in many cities. Colored people are not getting their share everywhere; that is admitted. The Committee wants you to tell how we can go about it in Louisville or Atlanta, anywhere in the country where there is racial discrimination in the public school. How can we get an equitable division of the public funds?

INFLUENCE OF MIXED SCHOOLS ON RACE RELATIONS

Professor Eubank: In other parts of the United States in the public schools you are faced with a different situation—that of having white and Negro children together. There are certain questions that apply to that field and these are to be presented by Professor H. T. Steeper, Principal of the West High School, Des Moines, Iowa.

Professor Steeper: As I see it, and I hope I am not entirely biased, the most hopeful sign of the future of American democracy rests with the American public school. I want to call attention of this Conference of men and women that we have had a fine exhibition from the college people, and it is fine business. Those people are going to be the leaders tomorrow, but the folk they will lead are the little folk like those in my school, and you have to look to them if you get the thing over.

First, what is the big contribution of the cosmopolitan American schools to the problem of race relations? I am glad, and I say it practically and sincerely, there happens to be at least one colored girl in the school where my little girls are going, because they are learning at first hand, very early, to adjust themselves. I want to tell you how, from the time my oldest girl was two or three years of age, she was trained. The first time she saw a colored person, that that person just happened to be a different color; that we had nothing to do with our selection of parents; that they were

decent if they behaved. That is what ought to be taught in public schools. How can the schools help continue that friendly relation which is found in childhood, regardless of race? That is the same question asked before by Dr. Bond. It is quite important. I find in high school much more prejudice than I find down in the earlier grades. I do not notice that little boys and girls in the lower grades have much trouble in playing together. The only way we can get the true relationship between the two races is education in the home.

The third question is, What must a school administration and teachers do to give to each individual equality of opportunity, regardless of race? That is a question I would like to preach a whole sermon on. As a high school teacher of 16 years experience in three different states where I have always had colored and white people in my schools, it makes a great difference what the principal thinks about the whole administration of that school. What the superintendent of the school, high and elementary, needs is to have the right bias on this proposition. When does he get it? I got mine before I was five years old, from my mother and father. Mother taught me that beauty is as beauty does. And I have learned beauty is skin deep. I wish I had more time to talk about those things.

I talked to Mr. Brown who is with me from our Interracial Commission in Des Moines. He happens to be a member of one of our fraternities. It has been worth a lot to me to work as chairman of the Interracial Commission in close contact with him. I am getting a liberal education.

RACIAL CONTACTS AND THE SEPARATE COLLEGES

Professor Eubank: Not separated from the problems of public schools, but with problems peculiar to themselves, are the colleges or institutions of higher education. We shall have questions on colleges that are separate, presented by Mr. Ackley of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., representing the student inter-collegiate grades.

Mr. Ackley: Students of the colleges want to make three statements in three sentences and ask three questions in three minutes. We have had some interesting experiences in interracial coöperation in the South; we have just started to go ahead—just scratching the surface. We do not feel we have done much so far. Students in colleges have some limitations which people of the interracial commissions do not have. We are not business men or social service experts and are unacquainted to a large extent with the community

in which we find ourselves in college. Please bear this in mind when you answer.

The first question is: What special things should the college student in the South do in the college city, town or country where the college is located? Second: In what ways can interracial coöperation be carried on between the white and colored students in the colleges? If we have forums, what do you think we ought to discuss and do? What shall white students in the South do when their college is not near a college of the other race? Third: What can the faculty and administration of the colleges do? Do you favor white administration of Negro colleges in the South? Should we have both white and Negro teachers for Negro colleges? Should we have curriculum courses in interracial relations? What official recognition should colleges give the interracial coöperation in the South?

WHITE AND NEGRO STUDENTS IN THE SAME COLLEGES

Professor Eubank: The next division covers institutions where white and colored students are on the same campus. This will be presented by Miss Blanche Dix, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

Miss Dix: Before I ask my questions, I should like to be sure you have a background of the mixed colleges and universities. On our campus we have a large number of white students who are indifferent to the race problem. Then we have a small crowd, friendly to the Negro and race problems, and a small crowd positively hostile to the Negro and mutual difficulties. Then we have a group that varies—a group of Negroes, more or less segregated—not by law but by common consent. Out of these conditions, we find there are some problems about which we should like to ask you. We believe the plan of the university is good; we believe that, having coöperative education, we can go to school and learn. We have to learn from each other, not only what is in the schools but through outside activities.

One of the questions is, How can we get the Negro student to be a full part of the institutions? In most of the institutions the Negro students do not participate in extra-class activities, especially in colleges. We would like to know how to go about getting an active part, in class day sports, athletics and so on. Second: How can we get the white students to have a constructive attitude toward the race problem? Many of them pay no attention to that when it comes to a showdown. We would like to know if you can tell us how we should go ahead on that.

Third: How can we get the northern students and faculty to get away from what we conceive to be the southern attitude? We find in many universities the same reason given for not permitting us to live in the dormitories, that the southern students will not like it. That is not always true. I know of a Negro girl who wanted to swim in the pool, and two of the white girls objected and the reason they gave for objecting was that a southern girl was there and she would not like it, and we turned to the girl, who was a Mississippi girl, and asked her about it. She said, "If the girls do not want to swim in the pool with the Negro, let them go to the South." And that was a southern girl who spoke. So we want you to tell us how we can get the northern students and northern faculty to work it out in their own way.

Professor Eubank: This is something for the next National Conference. It will be impossible in one afternoon to have a discussion of all the topics that have been raised in this concrete way by the young people who are face to face with them. I would like to have you bring in brief sentences or statements, whatever you have to say along the lines of any of the questions that have been raised. You might indicate which of them you select.

Dr. Roman: In answer to Mr. Ackley's "What do we expect students to be," I want to give one sentence in answer. Get your heart right, keep your mind open and gather facts for yourself and not be bound by tradition.

Mr. Mount (Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio): In regard to the matter of converting college officials, that is one of great interest to the students of Ohio State. We had an embarrassing situation a couple of years ago. Ohio State is a state institution and it is required you take a military training. When you finish the required military training, the officers come around and beg you to take up advanced work. A colored student won the second prize in the drill. This student was the best student in his class of military training, and when he went to enlist for advanced training he was refused. The Colonel would not consent to his taking advanced training. We appealed to "Prexy" Thompson, the best, grandest old president of any institution in the United States. It so happened that "Prexy" was powerless; you must have the consent of the Colonel in charge. What were we going to do when we had a representative of this United States Government that discriminated against a student taking advanced military training?

Mrs. W. H. Fouse (Lexington, Ky.): In order to bring a better relationship between the Negro schools of Lexington and the white colleges, a series of lectures have been established that have been

going on for the past four or five years, wherein college teachers and the president have come to the high school and delivered lectures. In turn the principal or supervisor of the colored school has each year for five years gone to Transylvania University and delivered lectures on the subject of the Negro, presenting just what is expected of them regarding the Negro. Students of the high school have rendered programs of their own choice in the Transylvania University and representatives of their student body have come over and helped our Y. I feel much good has been done in our city. I feel there is a better relation; I know it. There was a time when the college boys took our people for toys and now no such things are done.

Mr. Green: Referring to the talk of the speaker from Des Moines, information has come to me recently, in the states of Iowa and Kansas, the universities of those states are thinking of making a change in the requirements for entrance. The entrance will be this: All persons will be admitted provided they can be admitted to the universities in the states from which they come. If a student should come from one of the southern states and wanted to enter a university in Iowa or Kansas, he could not do so because he would not be allowed to enter the university in the state where he came from. It seems there is great opportunity in the middle west, for the interracial committees to keep the doors open, for there will be colored boys and girls from southern states who will not have that recognition.

Mr. Brown: As a graduate of the University of Iowa, I would like to know the source of the authority for the statement made regarding the plans of the university?

Mr. Greene: That comes from a student who took a summer course there last year.

Professor Eubank: The Committee will now adjourn and return with their report.

Chairman: We are ready for the address on *Education and Race Relations* by Dr. John Hope, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

President Hope spoke in part as follows:

This is a big question to us; education itself is a big question, but the question of education and race relations is a bigger question. And then when it comes to a question of education and race relations where the interracial relations are so different in so many places in the same country, it makes the subject exceedingly difficult.

I have learned so much here in the last two days, and everything I have heard, every question that came up, seems to me had back of it a lack of education, or the wrong sort of education. I heard Mr. Nichols and two or three others discussing nurses and physicians. And this is what I said: Down south there are millions of people, and sometimes we talk in this meeting up here as though there are not millions down there, but there are

millions there. I thought, these people are talking about nursing, and the states have not provided any means for making nurses. The states south of the Potomac and Ohio are not making any provisions for the education of physicians for colored people. I said, with all these Negroes, with all these diseases, there are only two medical schools south of the Ohio and Potomac, and those are too small to receive all the first rate Negro students who apply for admission. Dr. Dowling of Louisiana has said there is not much use to try to put forward a much bigger health program until there are more doctors, more colored doctors and colored nurses.

When I think of my section of the country it is a question of education. I hardly have time to think about the various adjectives to use, but it is a question of education. The distinguished old Dr. Currie once said, "They talk about Negro education being a failure; it has not been tried." That is what we are thinking about now.

Now, when it comes to relations—interracial relations and education—there has always existed some sort of interracial relations in the education of the Negro. I knew, for instance, a man who died two years ago in Arlington, Georgia, owning considerable property. He read well, he attended to his own accounts and died in very comfortable circumstances. Now his education was due very largely to interracial relations, that is to say, his young master and young mistress, little boy and girl, would make copies in the soil for him and he would learn one or two letters of the alphabet while they were at school. When the law objected to that little class—they knew he would lose a finger or two if found writing—these children advised a more clever way; they would scratch the copy in his hand. He learned little by little, to read and write, etc., and in this way became very well prepared to look after his business.

I was talking one day with a lad from Augusta, and I said, "Is it true your grandfather taught the slaves to read?" He said, "My grandfather taught them; he had no objections to the Negro's learning to read and write; the only thing he was worried about was that the Yankees might put devilment in their heads." So there was a good deal of interracial relations in the matter of Negro education, even before the Civil War; so when the war was over, there was a considerable number of Negroes who could read and write.

When we think about interracial relations in the matter of education, more things come to our minds. Just after the Civil War, the public school educational system was put upon the South. I might practically say forced upon the South, because southern people—southern white people—did not have any background for free school education, and most of the white people who had education themselves, did not believe in it. In fact, there is a small group yet in the South that believes if you cannot pay for your education you ought not have it. Their notion is different from yours and mine.

How did we get the schools? Why, some clever colored man in the community, especially in the country places, would go to some white person in that community and make arrangements for a school, and then he would get a school teacher and the salary would be paid. You had interracial relations a long time and men began to capitalize that sort of thing. Take Booker Washington; he capitalized it to a great degree, encouraging Negroes to have that understanding with white people. Dr. Dillard projected still further this sort of interracial relations that has been existing here and there, at the convenience of different people in towns and communities. He took that sort of thing and organized it, so that, at the end of a certain number of years, we have come to the place where we are having in many rural places in the South fine secondary schools.

They do not call them high schools yet, but "county training schools." There are some sad things with reference to Negroes in this country—things so sad or difficult in the way of getting along—difficulty so great that white people ought to be very careful how they criticize colored people

for getting along the best we can. It is a fact we are being severely criticized, but when a Negro man or woman wants his boy or girl educated he is not so apt to stand upon ceremony about the title of the school as he might be if he was thinking about some other boy or girl. So, as things go, it was a step forward for Dr. Dillard and his group to organize these county training schools.

Now, that effort for county training schools did another thing. It organized sentiment in favor of Negro education. I was at a meeting ten years ago where educational questions were coming up with reference to the Negro in the South. There was a proposal to turn over to white people more and more the means for the higher education of the Negro in the colleges of the South. A southern white man, whose opinion was asked—I might call his name; he is now gone to his reward—a man who did excellent service, a man named Snedeker, said: "I would not advise it; my people down south are not particularly interested in higher education. In fact," he said, "seventy-five per cent of my people are not interested in any kind of education for colored people."

Now, this sentiment has been recognized by Dr. Dillard and a number of other men thinking as he thinks, until there is a better outlook. The outlook is so much better, that there was a group of white people in Atlanta who walked up to the powers that be, several years ago, after the Negroes had defeated a bond issue for public schools on two occasions, and said, "We do not blame Negroes for doing it; we ourselves will not work for the bond issue until you guarantee the Negroes better elementary schools and high schools." The bonds were voted and we have the schools. Now those things are due really to interracial relations of a really high order, when you consider the circumstances.

There are some things I might say about the situation in the border states, and in the northern states, that seem very disquieting to me, some things colored people in the South do not enjoy at all and are looking at with a great deal of apprehension. I hope you people up here, white and colored, will realize what is going on and what the probable results may be. But that large factor is for you yourselves to handle.

However, the very biggest thing we have seen lately in interracial relations has been the meeting together in conferences of young college people, white and colored, in different parts of the country. I know of nothing that has happened lately that has been of a higher order than that. We older people, with few exceptions, pretty well have decided what we are going to think. That makes me think of an old lady that used to be at Spellman College, Atlanta. The girls used to tease her, and she said, "Go on, girls, I done made my character; you got your character to make." A lot of us have made our character; but these young people are making their character, and the character they make will answer the question, what will be the condition of the Negroes in the United States, and to a certain extent what will be the condition of the white people in the United States. So, when I find your white and colored people meeting together, not only here but in several states of the South, I say we do now have an interracial relationship that has not before come to pass in this country.

I have known young white men and young white women in the last fifteen or twenty years to take a stand in favor of higher education and better things for Negroes and I note that almost none of them have gone back to the flesh pots of Egypt, but have continued to stand up even where their public position and local surroundings might have kept them from voicing their expressions. When they were brought to the test they stood true.

My friends, education is a colossal idea. It does not matter perhaps how it comes, just so it comes; but when it does come it is something more than books; something more than the use of funds; something more than the mere mechanics of thought and logic as we see argument. Education is a spirit and I am wondering whether a great country like this, that has

been able to do everything that it has attempted to do, is going finally to give us a system of education that will have the spirit that is necessary and essential to the permanence of our country.

Now we say this is an interracial conference of Christian people. Jesus Christ: Whatever your opinion may be about what His name was or how He came to be, I think all of us will agree that His principles are fundamentally proper and not only that, but they are vital; His principles are aggressive. They are not something a man simply reads about, but they are something that simply get into a man and make him perform.

I wonder whether, my young friends (and rather to you than to the rest), white and colored, as you think about this great question of the education of the people, are you willing to go just as far as your honest thinking will let you? That is what we are needing today, downright honesty in thinking. Thinking just as honestly as you can, and being brave enough to let that carry you wherever it will. If you think with Jesus Christ, your thinking will carry us into higher and finer places. And who knows, in the years to come, maybe neither George E. Haynes nor anybody else will have to call any conference in the United States to discuss the righteousness or unrighteousness existing between Negro and white people because we will have put that behind us and will be prepared in body, mind and soul, to be citizens in Jesus Christ.

Chairman: We are ready now for the report of the Discussion Committee.

REPORT OF DISCUSSION COMMITTEE ON SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

Professor Eubank: Before making this report, I would like to ask all the students who are here from the various colleges and universities to stand for a moment to see how many are in Conference at this time. (Twenty-five representatives from colleges arose.) I thought the Conference did not appreciate the size of the contribution you are making to this Conference. The student group also wishes to express to the Conference its appreciation of the opportunity given them to take a part in this Conference.

Necessarily, our report is limited. I shall go through it as quickly as I can. It boils down to a few fundamental things, whether we discuss schools or colleges or what.

This Committee believes:

1. That the causes of racial antagonism arise fundamentally from social conditions; and that as such they are remediable through social changes.
2. That the major factor to be utilized in bringing about social changes in this, as in any other realm of life, is *Education.*
3. That the educational institutions of this country, from kindergarten up, therefore, constitute the strategic centers of approach in developing constructive interracial attitudes.

The Committee recognized that the average cultural level of the Negro in the United States is distinctly below that of the white population. This in itself is a condition which militates against equality of recognition as inevitably as it does in the case of any two groups of different cultural levels. It believes, however, that the reasons for this reside largely in the

fact that the same educational opportunities have not been available to the two races.

The Committee, therefore, recommends:

1. To all persons who have any part in directing the educational policies of this country: That everywhere Negroes be provided with educational facilities and opportunities equal to those extended to white students; and that where separate schools now exist equal standards of education be adhered to in all respects.

2. To leaders of the colored people: That every encouragement be given and legitimate means be employed to induce the Negro people everywhere, to avail themselves of the maximum educational opportunity, to the end that the difference in cultural level between the two races be reduced as rapidly as possible.

The Committee further expresses its conviction that a large part of the interracial prejudice manifested is due to the failure of the two groups to have an adequate understanding of each other. It therefore recommends:

3. To educational authorities and to student bodies, both of public schools and of institutions of higher learning throughout the country: That opportunities for sympathetic interracial contact and first-hand knowledge of each other be made possible and encouraged in every reasonable way.

It suggests specifically:

1. The presentation of materials and courses which will give a fair interpretation of each race to the other; in particular, that meritorious materials of Negro origin be as freely used as any other.

2. That competent representatives of the two races be interchanged.

3. That Negro students in mixed schools be admitted to representation in the general student organizations as rapidly as favorable student opinion can be developed.

4. That the method of interracial conference, which this and many other conferences have shown to be psychologically sound as a means to better understanding, be used as fully possible by the student bodies of the country.

Mr. Robinson: I rise to make a motion. After listening to a fine program on the schools and colleges I rise to make a motion that the report with the recommendations be adopted. (It was seconded.)

Mr. Brown: I would like to amend that motion, that the Discussion Committee and Dr. Hope be given a vote of thanks.

Chairman: It has been moved and seconded that we adopt the report with recommendations of the Committee, expressing our thanks to the presiding officer, President Hope, and to the Discussion Committee. Those ready for the motion will lift their hands. (The motion was carried.)

SUMMARY OF THE DISCUSSION ON

IX. SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES AND RACE RELATIONS *

A. Problems and Difficulties

1. When schools are separate the Negro does not get his proper share of facilities.

* Prepared by Professor Earle Edward Eubank, Department of Sociology, University of Cincinnati.

2. When schools are mixed the Negro does not receive recognition and representation in general affairs. Various discriminations are practiced.
3. Lethargy and indifference of the Negro in taking advantage of what opportunities he has, so that his comparative showing is unfavorable.

B. Evidence of Progress

1. The rapid increase of interracial progress in colleges and universities.
2. The increase in courses in college curriculum dealing fairly and intelligently with the Negro.
3. The increase in interchange of white and Negro representatives between schools.
4. Negro representation on athletic, debating and other representative teams is increasing.
5. Much larger numbers of Negro college students now than in the past. Up to 1912 a total of only 5,000 Negro college graduates but over 5,000 from 1913 to 1925.

EXCERPTS FROM

ADDRESSES OF GENERAL SESSIONS

By

DR. C. V. ROMAN
DR. WILL W. ALEXANDER
DR. GEORGE EDMUND HAYNES
DR. SHERWOOD EDDY

ADDRESS OF DR. C. V. ROMAN *

I

MOTIVE

Motive forms character and determines personality. Conduct is but the fruition of motive or the reaction to environment. Motive may be so ingrained and habitual that it will not rise above the horizon of consciousness in the performance of many important deeds. Men seldom correctly evaluate their own motives, much less those of other men.

Group conduct is apt to be higher in motive but lower in intelligence than individual conduct. This applies more particularly to stable and orderly groups but with certain limitations is as true of the mob as it is of the state. Cruelty as a national characteristic is harbinger of decay. The history of Spain in relation to the Moors, the Jews and the Indians illustrates this.

Two things stand out in the history of American morals:

1. Our ability to dodge and procrastinate. We will not willingly meet a moral issue squarely. We embrace every opportunity to detour from the highway of righteousness. This nation was "con-

* Excerpts from address delivered, Thursday, March 26, 8:00 P.M.

ceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." Yet it took nearly a hundred years of national existence to bring us face to face with the rightness or the wrongness of slavery and then we martyred the man that did it. We will do nothing as long as we can avoid the yea and nay form of a public question.

2. When forced to a decision we decide right. The Civil War was the unfinished business of the Revolution and the war amendments to the Constitution were postscripts to the Declaration of Independence. We finally decided slavery was wrong.

The motive behind the act is often more revealed by the consequences of the act than by the act itself. Much of our interracial talk and conduct does not bear the spiritual fruit expected because of hypocrisy—unconscious slave-psychology—white man seeking to boss and Negro seeking to dodge. These meetings will wear away the masks of hidden motive. Only the souls of the sincere shall be satisfied.

II

MATTER

There is a purposeful evolution of things; things happen in the fullness of time.

Slavery is a phase of economic development. It has definite limitations as well as definite uses. The effort to fix that condition as a permanent group status must fail. The limitation of Negro citizenship has served its purpose and fulfilled its destiny. It must pass. There are but two places where civic status in a republic comes to static equilibrium: full citizenship with every right conceded and abject slavery with every right denied. There is no middle ground. There is no compromise between tyranny and liberty. One or the other must rule. The proper *matter* for interracial conference is the establishment of justice and fair play by mutual understanding and goodwill.

III

METHOD

Next to pure motives and a righteous cause, tactful methods are necessary to success. Whatever your motive, it is hard to make a man happy by getting on his toes. If his toes be sore the most

peaceful intention may bring on a fight. The white man has been obeyed so much until he regards legitimate questions as unnecessary controversy and non-acquiescence in his decision as open declaration of war. He mistakes dictation for arbitration and condescension for kindness. The colored man has been coddled and kicked so much until it is hard for him to recognize or be satisfied with a square deal.

The finest fruit of racial conference thus far has been the discovery of workable methods by which the races may peaceably approach each other to their mutual advantage. We must establish a new code of interracial ethics—the code of master and man will not work between man and man. Freedman and ex-slaveholder are one thing and freemen are another. "Massa's in de col', col' ground"—The gentle voices have called "Old Black Joe." If we do not evolve a sound creed of interracial confidence, then "My old Kentucky Home, good night."

IV

THE CURE

When we contemplate the cure of racial friction in the light of all the diagnostic data, two things stand out:

1. The unchanging nature of tyranny and injustice.
2. The identity and constancy of human problems.

They change names and shift places but remain the same. Whipping women to death in England, denying French women admission to high schools and lynching Negroes in the United States are supported by identical arguments. Benjamin Franklin fitted the arguments of a Georgia slaveholder of the eighteenth century into the philosophy of a Mohammedan pirate of the ninth. Tyranny has but one tongue, though it speaks many languages.

Nature seems to delight in mystery and the children of men learn her secrets slowly. For many thousands of years men believed in the rising and setting of the sun. The ancient nomenclature still preserves the memory of the ancient ignorance. It is as difficult to get clear-headedness into speech as it is to get kind-heartedness into conduct.

By alias, alibi, masquerade and camouflage, injustice and tyranny manage to hide their identity and gloss their character from age to age and from locality to locality. Their multiform personality is so baffling that few recognize them. Race purity is another camouflage of male lust to oppress one set of women and debauch another. One of the remedies of race friction is entirely in the hands of white

women. They could defend themselves by helping to protect colored women. A single standard of sex morals would make for racial peace as well as national righteousness.

It is a question if race prejudice and injustice have not rendered the so-called Nordics incapable of sound ratiocination. We have seen in our own day a great scholar and leader die rather than permit a reservation to a political pact negotiated by himself. At the same time he made reservations to the Declaration of Independence that excluded the majority of mankind from the self-evident truths applying to all men and excluding from the guaranteed rights of the Constitution ten per cent of his own fellow citizens. No wonder the stout heart failed and the great brain broke under the load!

One of the high lights reflected from childhood's happy days is the neighborhood sensation caused by my maternal grandfather holding a drunken man to physical accountability for abusive and slanderous language. They were members of the same church and brought to the bar for unbecoming conduct, one for drunkenness and the other for fighting. The bibulous brother sought and obtained forgiveness for his weakness, but he of the fisticuff was obdurate and sought to justify his conduct by a line of reasoning that divided the church and the neighborhood for many moons: "A drunken man's words are a sober man's thoughts," he said. "I did not fight him for what he said when drunk but for what he thought when sober." No verdict was ever rendered but grandfather's philosophy crystallized into a local maxim of proverbial wisdom of wide acceptance. Apparently irresponsible action is the result of responsible thought. Our conduct is the fruit of our philosophy. Men must think straight before they will act right. Race friction cannot cease while religion qualifies the Ten Commandments and philosophy teaches morals with ethnic reservations.

ADDRESS OF DR. WILL W. ALEXANDER *

Mr. Chairman and Friends: Occasionally one runs across a person who thinks that all of the people south of the Mason-Dixon line have a wrong attitude on racial questions, and that all of those north of the Mason-Dixon line live up in thought, word, and deed to the very highest ideals in matters racial. While there are peculiar difficulties connected with the racial situation in the South, and traditions that make it difficult for the realization of many of the things that obviously should be done both by individuals and com-

* Excerpts from address delivered Friday, March 27, 8:00 P.M.

munities, there are also a growing number of courageous people who are determined that these handicaps shall be overcome and that justice shall be done to all citizens, regardless of race or color. The spirit that characterizes friends of racial goodwill in the South could be extended with very great profit to many other communities outside the South for it is becoming more and more evident that racial prejudice and discrimination in this country is not geographic, and with the shift of Negro population to sections of the country outside the South, we have already had many demonstrations of the ease with which communities become hysterical and unreasonable and the difficulty of eliminating discrimination and securing justice.

Race prejudice is a very subtle and deceptive thing. I have a friend who is prominent in missionary work among Negroes in the South. His son, a very brilliant student of one of the graduate schools of Harvard, approves of his father's work in the South, and is greatly interested in what I am doing. He has no prejudice against Negroes, but becomes most unreasonable when Jews are mentioned. In one southern community is a school, founded and developed by a very brilliant Negro woman, who has a remarkable personality. Not long ago she was telling me of the development of her institution. Among other things she told me of a recent trip she took in an automobile with a group of her students. Illustrating the difficulty of travel for Negroes in the South, she told of being refused food in a restaurant in a small southern town and closed her remarks by saying, "The good for-nothing Greek, who kept that restaurant had no business in America, anyway." Each of these persons would have condemned race prejudice in the abstract, but were the unconscious victims of a peculiar race prejudice that they nurtured almost as a virtue.

Most of us are ready to condemn race prejudice in the abstract. However, more energy has been spent in the condemnation of race prejudice in the abstract than in finding ways by which race prejudice can be supplanted by racial appreciation and goodwill.

The hour has come when the friends of tolerance and goodwill must show themselves social engineers with sufficient skill to build new racial attitudes, based upon the high principles that are being given expression on every hand. The majority of Americans are capable of tolerance and can be made to believe and support justice. What we need is a method by which this can be done, and there is very much more value in experimenting for the discovery of such methods than in denouncing racial intolerance and injustice.

A small group of men and women in the South have been really trying to experiment in changing the racial attitudes of individuals,

organizations, and communities. One thing, however, seems to have been made clearer by these efforts and that is the closer you get to the situation with which you are dealing, the more effective will be your dealing with it. Very little can be done with a situation of this sort by absent treatment however skillful and officially important the absentee doctor may be. Human brotherhood is very much closer between men who live together in the same community than between any other groups in the world. There is more in common between white men and colored men living together in Mississippi than between the white men who live in Mississippi and Negroes who live elsewhere. Christian statesmen may well give themselves to developing the Christian community as the next unit in enlarging the Kingdom of God in the world.

Our task is to reach back into the thousands of isolated communities and dig into their tough soil and begin to sow there in the terms of the life of that community the seeds of tolerance and good-will. I wish there were some magic process by which some national organization or some national leader could by saying a magical word or touching an electric switch in an office in New York or Washington flood the nation with understanding and tolerance. This can never be—so we must go back to our own communities, and to the men and women in other communities, and inspire them to the rather drab and commonplace task of building brotherhood in the local communities where they live.

We go about from state to state and community to community, exhorting people to solve the race problem. An expert, you know, is an ordinary man a long way from home. In a sense, the experts in this task are the least important persons connected with it. What we need is a larger number of intelligent men and women, whose tasks confine them to a single community and who will patiently and determinedly seek to build racial brotherhood in that community. An ounce of demonstration is worth a train load of exhortation.

We have held many interracial meetings in a great many communities, and with a great many different types of people. Very early we discovered that this is a question capable of calling out more types of emotional response than perhaps any other question in the country. Lying back of it is a tremendous background of tragedy that appeals to one's feelings. There are persons with whom one comes in contact at these meetings who stir one's feelings to the very depths. There are always stirring reports of injustice and heroic resistance. I have on my staff a very keen, young, college man, whose insight into racial attitudes and their causes is as sure as any I have ever known. This young man used to watch the people who

came into the meetings and say of a very large number of them that "they came to have their emotions tweaked." They were hardly ever disappointed, and we discovered that the more positive were the reactions to the "tweaking," the less we could expect from them when they left the meeting.

Of course, we need to kindle in America a burning fire of resentment against intolerance and injustice, but we need something more. It is very much easier to "tweak" one's emotions than it is to do the patient laboratory work necessary to find a way out. Most anyone can run for a while and not be weary. In this task of building racial understanding we need a great many people who can walk through long and laborious days and not faint. In fact, we need some who can stand still and do the patient thinking which is so very difficult for Americans, who are so much more capable of solving problems with their feet than with their heads. This task calls for some foot work, but for a great deal of patient, honest thinking.

In the South we have been encouraged by the enthusiastic response of the students to an appeal for a better order of things in that section of the country. The students have never failed to meet the appeal with a ready, enthusiastic response. This emotion has the greatest value, but its efficiency will be measured in part by the thoroughness of the training they get in college in social theory and social engineering. We have just finished a study of the teaching of social science in the southern colleges, and with a few exceptions, it amounts to a little or nothing. So long as this is true, the fine enthusiasm of these young students is pretty largely run to waste. These tasks call for high social engineers, as well as moral crusaders.

The question of segregation and housing is a good illustration. Everyone in this room could tell stirring stories of hardships and injustices which are wrought by segregation, but I doubt, if any one in this room, can tell accurately how the present segregation system has been brought about or what are the forces that keep it alive. It is very easy to say that prejudice and meanness are responsible for it, and, yet, we need to get closer to the economic, political, and social facts. We shall not get very far until we develop the wisdom necessary to recognize and deal effectively with these various contributing and complicating aspects of segregation. To that end, our Commission will begin early in the fall, in coöperation with others, a nation-wide study of housing and segregation. We hope to make it as dispassionate and scientific as such a study can be made. We have faith that in picking the thing up in its entirety and studying it, we are taking the first step toward doing something about it.

May I say in closing that it is very much easier to lead a crusade of denunciation than it is to do this hard and difficult work of study and understanding which must be the foundation of any effective dealing with this question. The success of this conference will depend not upon the amount of "tweaks" which our emotions have received, but upon the amount of determination that has been stirred within us to do not only the moral heroics but the patient study which alone can bring the light we need to find our way.

ADDRESS OF DR. GEORGE EDMUND HAYNES *

It always helps me in my thinking, and it certainly helps to give me poise as I face these tangled and difficult race problems of today to realize that we are working out things that have come down from the past, and to realize that we are not going to settle all of them, and that whatever we do about them is going to hand them on either harder or easier for the generation that comes after us. And it seems to me it is very important for us in dealing with the present situation to realize some of the efforts that have been made towards its solution in the past. They may save us from some mistakes.

If you will look back a little historically at the relation of white to Negro peoples in America, and some of you doubtless have, you will discover many panaceas have been proposed, and many of them tried at one time or another. I want to mention two or three in order to bring up a little historical perspective to the problems that we have been considering during these last two or three days.

About four months ago a writer in the *Current History* magazine of the *New York Times* published an article on the racial situation and proposed as a solution that we should find some haven, some asylum either in the West Indies or in Africa, and we should offer all the Negroes who would go over there free transportation and help in getting their foothold; that we should use social pressure to force those who did not choose to go. I suppose he wrote that article and made that proposition with the idea that he was proposing something new that was going to solve the situation.

If, however, he had gone back a hundred years he would have found that was one of the most favored propositions on the race question in America, that we had a national colonization society headed by Henry Clay, one of the leading statesmen, with large funds and branch organizations in many states. They actually did transport some manumitted slaves to the west coast of Africa. We have the

* Excerpts from address delivered, Friday, March 27, 8:30 P.M.

little Republic of Liberia as a result now struggling for its existence, only kept intact by the friendly interest and help of the United States. There are about thirty thousand Americo-Liberians, the descendants of those who were sent over there by the American Colonization Society. This historical fact may help us to realize that colonization of the Negro will not solve the situation. Booker T. Washington once said if you got the Negroes to go off and colonize in that way, you would have to have two walls around the territory, one to keep the Negroes in and one to keep the white people out.

One of our university professors has proposed that in our democracy, with its great Negro population, there is only one solution: To have a class of serf-citizens, a sort of class that would never have the full privilege of franchise of American citizens. I can best answer that professor by paraphrasing the statement of Abraham Lincoln that shook the very foundation of slavery. In a memorable speech he said that a house divided against itself cannot stand, that American democracy cannot continue half slave and half free; it must be the one thing or the other. No more can it be half serf and half citizen. Whenever a college professor brings up that proposition, or anybody else brings it up, he should be reminded that we fought a civil war; we spent a river of blood and a mountain of treasure to settle that issue of citizenship in America once and forever.

Dr. Alexander spoke a moment ago about segregation. The segregation policy started about 1890; that is within the lifetime of a great many of us younger people here. It started first with the disfranchisement laws in Mississippi. The last disfranchisement laws were enacted in Oklahoma about 1910. In the wake of the disfranchisement laws followed legislation for "Jim Crow" railroad cars and street cars. With the growth of intelligence and with the growth of self-respect, and with the growth of race-consciousness, Negroes have gradually withdrawn unto themselves and have gradually built up a Negro world more or less within the larger world. Especially in our large cities where there is a large population of Negroes that is very true. And these city Negro populations are largely segregated from other parts of the population.

I am one of those who believe, like Dr. Alexander, that we awoke to some of the possibilities of this segregation, some of its sad tragedies, during the World War. It separates American citizens who are living in the same communities, into two great groups that have very little commerce one with the other. A Negro child may be born, may grow up in a separate neighborhood, may go to a separate school, may ride on Jim Crow street cars and railroad trains, may have its life insured in a colored company, may get sick and go to a separate

colored hospital, may go to a Negro church, and may die and be buried in a separate cemetery. Through it all the segregated life keeps him separated from the great other half of the world in which he lives. The same may be true of the white child that may grow up in ignorance of the real life of large groups of his fellow citizens. We are trying to build in communities in a common territory an American democratic life with that kind of segregated arrangement.

As long as two peoples live in the same territory they cannot separate their interests and maintain such a segregated life. If over in John Street in Cincinnati or in the "Black Bottom" of Nashville typhoid fever or tuberculosis becomes rampant, it does not heed any segregation. If vice is allowed to flourish, and if the red light district, as is true in many of our cities as shown by actual investigation, is allowed to flourish in the Negro district or on the border of it, it is going to spread and contaminate the whole community. I think our communities and our nation have not yet begun to realize and awaken to this truth. We need to give attention to this segregation policy that has grown up in our midst during the present generation.

You hear people talking about the housing and segregation of Negroes as though it had been a fixed policy for all time. If you go back into the history of cities like Memphis or Nashville, Tennessee, or Atlanta, Ga., or Louisville, Ky., or many of the smaller places, you will find that thirty years ago white and Negro populations were no more segregated then they are in Minneapolis, Minnesota, where we found in a study last November that the colored people were distributed practically in all the principal residential sections of the city.

Let me mention, however, some of the other things that have gone on during preceding generations reaching clear back to the eighteenth century, even back to the constitutional convention of the framing of the Constitution, even back to the Declaration of Independence. There have been a few men and women, increasing in number as the years have come and gone, who have seen the larger vision of democracy and the coming of the Kingdom of God in America; men and women who dreamed a dream no mortals ever dared dream before; men and women who saw beyond the years in which they lived, and who believed that in fact as well as in theory on this free soil, in this free land of America, there would and should be in reality a brotherhood of men that included all men, black as well as white, red as well as brown. These men and women comprised a little handful of Quakers as non-conformists at first; their numbers have grown; they have spread to other church congregations, and today they are found in nearly all the churches of America. In the course of their

growth several of our Protestant denominations have split over that issue.

Every time there is a resurgence of the idea of force and violence and exploitation of one kind or another, either the issue of slavery or emancipation—or the question of shoving these people off into a corner segregated to themselves, or pushing them away by some colonization scheme to themselves, or pressing them down into a lower state of citizenship; every time such a proposition has been put forward to use either the social pressure or the economic pressure, or the brutal force and violence to subjugate and exploit, people of such vision have stepped forward and said: "No, there is a different way, there is a better way, there is an ideal way, the way of faith, the way of understanding, the way of goodwill. We can go that way toward adjustment and peace and prosperity."

From the days of Benjamin Lundy, a Kentuckian, the first abolitionist who was one of the spiritual fathers of William Lloyd Garrison, down to John J. Eagan and Will W. Alexander, there have been men and women who have seen the vision and responded to it with enthusiasm and with assurance. They have thrown themselves into the task of leading other men and women to see it and to live it out in the hard rugged days of our common life.

It was a little group of such men, led by John J. Eagan, who in 1919—just after the signing of the Armistice, when again the red, gory fingers of violence were reaching out and gripping our communities, not only in the South but in the North where Chicago and Omaha and Washington and other places had their riots and mobs—who with prayer and faith stood up and said, "Men and brothers, we can find a way out through conciliation and coöperation."

At that time I happened to be a government official in the United States Department of Labor. There came to the Secretary's desk one day a telegram from the Governor of one of the southern states asking that some officials be sent down for counsel because of a situation that was getting beyond his control. One of the other officials and I were sent down. We spent a day in consultation with the Governor and his staff. This was the situation. A battalion of Negro soldiers, just back from France, had been mustered out in front of the state house just a few days before. One of the speakers, a Negro minister, had said something about their having learned to shoot and now being prepared to protect their liberties. A report of this speech spread like wild fire among white men of that state. The "home guards" of white men were reorganized in three or four of the principal cities. In one of those cities they had plans set to attack colored people, especially the men, because they thought these

soldiers were about to organize the colored people to attack the whites. The Governor told us that if anything like that started in the city he knew he did not have power to protect colored citizens. This is just one illustration of tense conditions in many places.

In the face of a southwide situation similar to that these men met in Atlanta for a day of prayer and counsel on what they might do to meet it in such local communities. They called in the war work secretaries of the Y. M. C. A. in that region. The Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. had been pioneers in a good deal of interracial work. Out of such prayer and deliberations grew the plan of visits to the local communities of the South with request to the strong white and colored citizens of each community to get together and try to do the something to deal with their local situations.

They suggested two principles: First, that each side had a right to come into the council and plan together where their mutual interests were involved; that the white men should confer with colored men about their mutual interests. This was just the reverse of what one white man said about my work in the Department of Labor during the World War: "We tell Negroes what to do; we don't confer with them." Second, that if these leaders with sincerity and frankness and the determination of goodwill believed in each other and faced their situation squarely they could at least grapple with it if anything occurred.

Now, we have never said, and never felt, and never believed that this method was going to do away with all the problems. We do not look for any general panacea. These problems are going to be just as difficult. Prejudices are going to be just as strong, misunderstandings will still have to be faced, slums will still be there, conflicts of interests will not disappear. The difference, however, has been that a great asset has come from the agreement to face the situation together in a friendly spirit and with open minds. This is illustrated by a true story of the thing that happened in Atlanta, when, in the early days of the interracial movement a committee of white men asked a group of colored men to come and meet with them. These colored men came, rather suspicious, and not knowing what the white men wanted. When one of those white men said they had come to ask what they could join hands with the Negro men in doing to help the racial situation in their community, one of those Negro men arose and with tears running down his cheeks, said, "Gentlemen, you have done already the greatest thing that you could do in helping this situation. You have come to confer with us as men and ask us to join hands with you in meeting it." That did mark a new day in their attack upon their problem.

Out of this effort, ladies and gentlemen, we are going gradually to come to see a new day because this movement recognizes that both races are integral parts of the community, that the problems that confront us are common, that our interests are interdependent, and that, for better or for worse, we face the future together for the destiny of both races is involved in the outcome.

ADDRESS OF DR. SHERWOOD EDDY *

Friends: I feel highly honored to be invited to speak at the first conference that I think may mark a milestone of advance in the better relations between these two great races. During the last thirty years, the first year in this country and the next twenty-nine years abroad, my work in traveling has taken me through the different countries and among the different races of the world. I spent the first fifteen years abroad in India, then as secretary for Asia, working among the populations of that great continent, then in the World War zone with the different races there. Thus I have seen something of the world situation in Asia, in Europe and in America. Everywhere I traveled I found the gravity of this race problem. It cannot be escaped.

Roughly, about one-third of the human race is white, about one-third is yellow, and about one-third is black or brown. Some two-thirds of humanity are in some sense colored people. Do we believe that humanity is only in one favored color, or class, or clique, or creed, or race, or religion? I believe that humanity is one, created of one blood, of all men on the face of the earth, to dwell together in unity. And I believe that this world was created not for a battle ground but for a brotherhood; not for a warring battlefield of races, of classes and of nations, dragging the world back again and again into war, but as a coöperative human family, bound together in ties of one great love.

The rapid increase of population, bringing pressure to bear upon the means of subsistence, has crowded us together. If the population increases steadily at the present rate of increase, this world will be filled 120 years from now. Who is to populate the world? What method of birth control, or race control, of coöperation, or of strife, is to solve this problem? In South Africa, on their own soil, where the whites are outnumbered four to one, in town after town, the African is not allowed to walk on the sidewalk; he must walk in the streets with the cattle. Everywhere I find a growing African racial con-

* Excerpts from address delivered, Friday, March 27, 9:00 P.M.

sciousness. Everywhere the tides of democracy are sweeping around the world; races are coming into a new aspiration in which the sense of wounded self-respect and of thwarted manhood is making them demand their rightful place. One of the great political leaders of India said that "In a matter of honor we prefer death to anything else." I find the race problem very acute in India.

I find it acute also in Japan. I was there after the Washington Disarmament Conference—every cloud was rolled away; there was the clear sunshine of friendship; America was considered Japan's best friend. Then came the great earthquake, when, in forty-eight hours Japan lost more than she lost in the whole Russian-Japanese war. Again America came to her aid and was her best friend. And then later, in a day, by the particular form of a section of our recent Immigration Act we undid it all and made a deep and lasting wound in the heart of that great friendly people. Even if we had permitted them to enter on the basis of other nations on the 1890 quota, it would have meant only 150 a year. Or if we did not even want the 150, if we had permitted President Coolidge to negotiate a friendly round-table agreement with that great sister nation, how gladly they would have reached such an agreement. They would not have felt humiliated. They do not want their people to come here. They want them in Korea, in Manchuria, in Formosa, in those places where they are expanding, where their future lies.

But, would we permit President Coolidge to make such a round-table agreement? No! We insisted on a form of words, on an invidious distinction and exclusion which made a deep wound in the heart of that great friendly power. We would not even permit the Japanese minister, well within the truth, with the greatest courtesy, to express the fear that it might lead to serious consequences. Any one who knows the Far East would say that it would almost certainly lead to serious consequences. Japan, having been rejected by America, has already been driven into an alliance with Russia.

There is another domestic aspect of this race problem. I come back to America, and I find this sad tale of lynching. Thank God it has improved in the last four years, for reasons I shall mention presently. Nevertheless, I come back to my own country to find that we are the only country that descends to this disgraceful, this pathetic barbarism. I find little or no color or race prejudice as I move among the great Russian and Slavic peoples; I find little or no race prejudice among the Latin races.

Four peoples suffer most from this disease of race prejudice. The four peoples that suffer most may be mentioned in this order: First and foremost, the people of this country. America leads the

world in race prejudice. Second, our friends, the British; third, the Germans; fourth, the high caste people of India in their treatment of the outcasts and the low castes. In other words, it is the Anglo-Saxon and the Teutonic peoples, not the Latins, not the Slavs, that are suffering most from this race prejudice.

I came back to my country from my last journey around the world, where I saw the hindrance that lynching has proved in missionary work in Japan. I not only saw in the papers there the account of the last lynching, but the very photograph of the deed, where our people are held up and pitied before the seventy millions of Japan. I found in China also the account of the last lynching. I found it not only in the daily press of India, but in the Christian press, where we are pitied as the only people who descend to this barbarism. It is proving a very real hindrance to our missionary work.

I come back to America to find deep race prejudice, suspicion, hatred and propaganda. I found prejudice against the Jew, that race to which we owe so much. Much we owe to the Greek, much to the Roman but more to that great race of prophets that gave us the Christian basis of our civilization. And to one member of that race I owe more than to all the rest of humanity combined, Jesus Christ, my Lord and my God, according to the flesh. I would cut off my hand before I would take any part in any propaganda of race prejudice against the Jew or against the Catholic, the brother for whom Christ died. And, yet, I have just come from a city, where I found well-meaning Protestants handing out in front of their churches a false oath attributed to the Knights of Columbus, an allegation to foment suspicion, hatred and division. The allegation has been proven false in court after court in the United States, and is so registered on the records of Congress. We know it has been testified to as false by representative committees of Masons and by representative Protestant business men of America. To propagate such hatred and falsehood in the name of the lowly Jesus of Nazareth is pathetic. I have just come from another city where I found poor Negroes, armed with cheap revolvers, in deadly terror of these same followers of the lowly Jesus, and again I hang my head in shame. It was the very Mayflower, that brought the Pilgrim Fathers to liberty that went on its second voyage for a cargo of slaves, and Hawkins, knighted by Queen Elizabeth, plied his slave trade in his ship "Jesus."

Our present race prejudice may be traced in part to economic causes, or to political causes where, as in India, one race is trying to rule another. It may be traced also to difference in customs and manners; it may be traced at times to fear of inter-marriage; but

it is traceable usually, I believe, to the sense of racial superiority and the corresponding notion of inferiority of other races.

What is the cure? Some would point to racial domination, with one race claiming superiority; always their own race. Some would look to segregation; some to amalgamation; some to eugenics; all kinds of panaceas are held out. For myself, I can see no hope save as we come back to those eternal principles taught by Jesus Christ and actually practice them. There is first the principle of God as the Father of all men; second, the principle of the equal worth of each human soul, each priceless personality, with incalculable possibilities of development; third, the equal brotherhood of all; and, fourth, the great principle of love, not as an idle sentiment or passing emotion, but the full sharing of life in indomitable goodwill. Jesus practiced these principles. He not only taught them, but he practiced them. He went out as the Good Samaritan of humanity and ministered to the needy, regardless of rank, race or religion.

And, yet, not only can Mr. H. G. Wells say that race prejudice today is the most evil thing in the world, that it holds more abomination and cruelty than any other thing, but the great writer, Mr. Graham Wallas, can say that Christianity has harbored more of race prejudice and brutality than Mohammedanism; that Christianity has not been able to arrive even at a temporary working compromise on the race problem.

Let me mention an illustration where professing Christians failed to practice these principles of Jesus. The son of a prominent Christian leader in Asia came to study in this country. I saw him before he left. I asked him how he was going back. He said, "I am going back as an atheist. I could never accept the religion of people who treated me like a dog in this country."

I saw my friend John J. Eagan, after the war, with Will Alexander, gather together a little group of white men in Atlanta, and a group of colored men, to study these racial problems, economic, social, moral and religious, in their city. I stood in that city in a new colored school that cost a quarter of a million dollars; I visited the new colored bank; I saw new and better paved streets, better racial conditions, better moral conditions and more friendship. I saw the problem at least being considered and solutions sought through conciliation because a little group of men of the two races got together in indomitable goodwill, men who have a determination and understand each other, and who came together as friends, equals, and brothers, by coöperation, trying to study the problem and solve it. I do believe that real coöperation and indomitable goodwill will lead us to a solution.

In one of the addresses of Booker T. Washington, he said, "I will permit no man to degrade my soul by making me hate him." The Negro people may be called a great cross-bearing race, and may be said to follow Jesus of Nazareth. I stood on the spot where Booker Washington built up his great institution on an old hill at Tuskegee. I stood on that hill which he bought at fifty cents an acre, waste land, nothing on it but sand and clay. I saw there 111 great stone and brick buildings, a plant with an endowment of six to eight millions of dollars. It is rising rapidly every year. I saw 2,000 students, who, in addition to their academic studies, were learning a score of useful trades. I stood there beside Professor Carver, whom Booker Washington found as a student of chemistry, and said to him, "We can't give you any laboratory but tackle that old hill and see what you can make out of it." That Negro chemist went out to that hill and produced eighty-five commercial products out of the clay; over two hundred out of the peanut and over one hundred and twelve out of the sweet potato.

Within one generation, within the life-time of men sitting here tonight since 1866 after the Civil War, the Negro population has increased nearly three-fold; their literacy has increased seven-fold, raised from ten per cent to eighty per cent; their farms owned increased twenty-fold; their homes owned over fifty-fold; their business operated thirty-five-fold, from 2,000 to over 70,000; the value of their church property over seventy-fold; their estimated wealth has risen from twenty millions to twenty hundred millions. In spite of the inequality of opportunity, inequality of education, inequality of development, there is in these facts proof of the underlying truth of a great and abiding spiritual quality of fellow members of one great brotherhood of humanity; that each race contributes its own peculiar gifts.

I believe in full equality of race treatment; I believe in one unbroken brotherhood, and I see no solution for our problem save in the passion of love, a love that can suffer, a love than can bear, a love that can die but rise again. For only love will win and can win, and bridge these great gulfs that separate us in race prejudice and passion.

I was told a story that in South Africa in the war between the Zulus and the British, when the Zulus came forward with a flag of truce, by some terrible mistake the British soldiers shot down that bearer of the flag of truce. The British officer, feeling ashamed, determined, if necessary, to forfeit his own life. He went forward empty handed to apologize, and if necessary, to lay down his life

for that misdeed. The Zulu chief met him, and he said, "You are a man, we also are men, let us make peace." And they made peace.

One, in the advancement of humanity, bearing its wrongs and its shame, has gone out to make peace, reconciling us in the blood of His cross. Shall we follow Him, bearing His reproach, bearing His shame, determined to understand, and as one unbroken brotherhood, small though our numbers be, work on and on until we shall bring these divided races together in one love, where there shall be neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, neither Catholic nor Protestant, neither white nor black, neither East nor West, but all shall be one in Christ?

SUMMARY OF

LEADING SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS *

Growing out of the Conference

I. To Newspapers
1. That the word "Negro" be capitalized wherever used in the press.
2. That when crimes are committed by Negroes the racial designation of the offender be omitted, especially from the headlines.
3. That a point be made of featuring items which reflect credit upon the Negro race, and that place be more largely given to affairs and events of importance of them, and that in general Negro news be written up so as not to provoke unfavorable reaction on the part of the reader.

II. To Employers
1. That wherever Negroes are employed they shall receive payment equal to that received by white labor for the same work.
2. That larger opportunity be given for Negroes to occupy positions of skill and responsibility.

III. To Trade Unions
1. That there shall be no disbarment from membership on account of race or color.

IV. To Social Agencies
1. That as far as possible social service be carried on with reference to Negroes not as a separate racial group, but as fellow citizens of a common community.
2. That Negroes be placed upon the employed staffs and governing boards of agencies which have a considerable amount of work with Negroes.
3. That effort shall be made to adjust Negro migrants to their new localities so that there may not arise through ignorance any violation of law.

V. To Local Communities
1. That local interracial committees be formed for the purpose of studying local interracial needs, and organizing the community for intelligent action. These local committees should contain representatives of all interests most closely involved in local interracial matters.
2. That adequate police protection and vice regulation be accorded Negro district and population.
3. That housing and health standards be rigidly enforced in Negro districts.
4. That compulsory segregation ofNegroes be abolished.

VI. To Courts of Justice
1. That where the number of Negroes involved is large there be provided Negro members of juries, and Negro police and probation officers.

* Prepared by Professor Earle Edward Eubank, Department of Sociology, University of Cincinnati.

2. That the Negro be given "white man's justice" in every court where he appears.
3. That the Negro be given his Constitutional rights—especially that of franchise—in every community where it is denied him.

VII. To Churches

1. That groups be organized under religious auspices for the study of racial questions.
2. That wherever possible there be interchange of pulpits.
3. That official church boards be asked to consider racial problems as of crucial importance.

VIII. To School Authorities and Student Bodies

1. That everywhere Negroes be provided with educational facilities and opportunities equal to those extended to white students, and that where separate schools now exist equal standards of education be adhered to in all respects. (This particularly needed in regard to medical education.)
2. That opportunities for sympathetic interracial contact, and first hand knowledge of students of different races be made possible and encouraged in every reasonable way, especially by conference and interchange of competent representatives.
3. That materials and courses be presented which will give a fair interpretation of each race to the other, and in particular that meritorious materials of Negro origin be as freely used as any other.
4. That in mixed schools Negro students be admitted to representation in the general student organizations as rapidly as favorable student opinion can be developed.

IX. To Leaders of the Negro People

1. That every encouragement be given and every legitimate means be employed to induce Negroes everywhere to avail themselves of the maximum of every educational opportunity afforded, to the end that differences in cultural level between the two races may be reduced as rapidly as possible.

X. In General

Throughout the Conference it was recognized that open-minded study of conditions and mutual facing of the facts must be the bases for better understanding and interracial coöperation.

In conclusion the Conference adopted the statement of the Committee on Schools and Colleges as follows:

We believe

That racial antagonism arises fundamentally from social conditions, and that as such it is remediable through changes in those conditions, which will lead to revised social attitudes.

LIST OF SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS AND POINTS SENT TO DELEGATES PRECEDING CONFERENCE

PLAN OF OPEN FORUM DISCUSSION AND SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR PREPARATION OF DELEGATES: EACH DELEGATE IS URGED TO STUDY HIS OWN COMMUNITY ALONG LINES OF THESE SUGGESTIONS BEFORE COMING TO THE CONFERENCE

NATIONAL INTERRACIAL CONFERENCE

Cincinnati, Ohio—March 25-27, 1925.

PLAN OF OPEN FORUM DISCUSSION OF TOPICS

For each topic a definite amount of time on the program will be allotted. A part of that time will be taken by the delegates in stating (1) the most pressing problems that confront them in their localities; (2) what solutions they have attempted; and (3) experience in getting results.

When the time for this part of the open forum discussion on each topic is used up, the discussion committee, in charge of the topic, who have listened to the reports, will retire for a few minutes to sift out the main points that need further consideration.

While the discussion committee is deliberating an address will be given on the topic under consideration by some one competent to speak upon it. The discussion committee will bring in the main points presented by the delegates and other points considered worth while by the committee. The open forum discussion will then continue for the balance of the time allotted to the topic with the members of the committee adding such information and giving such guidance as will make the discussion fruitful.

To help the delegates in preparation for the discussion before they come to the conference, suggestions and questions for their guidance in studying their own local situation have been prepared and are given in the following paragraphs:

IN PREPARATION FOR DISCUSSION ON HEALTH AND RACE RELATIONS

1. What are some of the health problems of your community?
   a. Tuberculosis
   b. Infant death.
   c. Social diseases.
2. What are the facilities for handling of health conditions of colored people in your community?
3. What interest is manifested by the health authorities of your local government in health of the Negro population?
4. To what extent do agencies that carry health educational campaigns include the colored people?
5. What hospital and clinical facilities are open to colored people?
6. What share do Negro citizens have in the Public Health Nursing Service?

IN PREPARATION FOR DISCUSSION ON HOUSING AND RACE RELATIONS

1. What are the conditions of sanitation in the Negro neighborhoods of your community?
2. In what ways do Negroes themselves affect interracial attitudes on housing?
3. What are some of the Negro's difficulties in trying to obtain mortgage money?
4. Difficulties in renting and buying property?
5. What efforts are being made, and what further efforts are possible to improve housing conditions for Negroes?
6. What efforts are being made for better housing?

IN PREPARATION FOR DISCUSSION ON INDUSTRY AND RACE RELATIONS

1. What are the proportions of white and colored workers in the total wage earning population of your community?
2. What are the proportions of white and colored workers in the principal occupations in which colored workers are employed in your community?
3. Can you give instances of new occupations opened to colored workers in the last few years, describing the circumstances of their opening?
4. Can you give illustrations of personnel policies in the industries of your community with reference to the employment of colored workers? If so, can you give facts about the results of these policies?
5. What are your schools doing by way of guiding colored children in the choice of their first positions?

6. Formulate the two most difficult problems in race relations in industry in your community.
7. Give instances of success in dealing with employment problems of race relations in your community which might be of service to other communities.
8. What part do Negro workers have in labor organizations?
9. Secure any other facts which will help you discuss such problems in your community.

IN PREPARATION FOR DISCUSSION ON PUBLICITY AND RACE RELATIONS

1. In what ways are interracial misunderstandings nurtured, goodwill fostered?
2. How do the following publicity agencies affect race relations?—a. The press. b. Motion pictures. c. Fiction. d. Magazines.

IN PREPARATION FOR DISCUSSION ON CHURCH AND RACE RELATIONS

1. In what ways are the churches of your community and your denomination serving as a medium of interracial understanding?
2. Do your ministers, unions or associations include white and colored members; if not, is there some other interracial contact between ministerial organizations?
3. Have your churches observed Race Relations Sunday? What suggestions for its improvement would you make?
4. What are the Sunday Schools doing to foster interracial understanding and goodwill?
5. What other practical measures have the churches of your community or denomination promoted to increase friendly contact and interracial coöperation? What has been the result?
6. How may the church auxiliaries, young people's societies, mission boards, be used more effectively for interracial understanding?
7. What has been the experience of your local YMCA and YWCA with interracial committees in their work?

IN PREPARATION FOR DISCUSSION ON BUSINESS AND RACE RELATIONS

1. Is lack of opportunity for experience in business in your locality a barrier to young Negro business men? In what definite ways? Get definite cases.
2. Does race identity relate itself to securing credit?
3. What is the relation of white business organizations of your community to Negro men and women in business?
4. Are executive and clerical positions in business establishments in your community occupied by colored men without racial friction? Could they be so occupied?

IN PREPARATION FOR DISCUSSION ON SOCIAL AGENCIES AND RACE RELATIONS

Are the social agencies of your community serving as a medium of interracial coöperation through—

1. Honest and wise leadership?
2. Working WITH instead of FOR Negroes?
3. Assisting Negroes to choose their own leadership?
4. Giving white and Negro workers of a similar rank the same basis of remuneration?
5. Equitable apportionment of positions of trust and responsibility on boards and staffs?
6. Efforts of a constructive character in securing adjustment of permanent value rather than of palliative almsgiving type.

IN PREPARATION FOR DISCUSSION ON THE COURTS AND RACE RELATIONS

1. How nearly are the courts in your community giving impartial treatment to white and colored people, in

   a. Protection of person and property?
   b. Service on juries?
   c. Matters of arrests, etc.

2. What provision is made in your community for juvenile court and juvenile probation? How do Negroes share in whatever is provided?
3. What legal aid, if any, is given in your community to Negro clients? To white clients?
4. Does race identity determine chance of citizens to serve on juries? Do Negro citizens so serve?

IN PREPARATION FOR DISCUSSION ON INTERRACIAL MOVEMENT

1. What organizations or agencies of interracial type have been developed in your community?
2. How are members that compose these organizations or agencies chosen?
3. What are some of the policies that have been adopted to guide the activities of the particular interracial organizations or agencies in which you are active?
4. Have any of these organizations or agencies written constitutions? If so, study them and inquire into the results of their operation.
5. What efforts have been made to correlate the organization and activity of several organizations or agencies dealing with interracial interests?
6. How far are racial or national groups besides white and Negro included in local interracial plans and policies?

IN PREPARATION FOR DISCUSSION ON SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES AND RACE RELATIONS

1. What is the situation in the public schools of your community relative to interracial coöperation?
2. What use is made of textbooks and library facilities that might increase each race's appreciation of the other?
3. What friendly contact and coöperation has been developed between Negro and white college students?

DELEGATES

NATIONAL INTERRACIAL CONFERENCE

CINCINNATI, OHIO, MARCH 25-27, 1925

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PROGRAM

OF THE

NATIONAL INTERRACIAL CONFERENCE, CINCINNATI, OHIO, MARCH 25-27, 1925

Honorary Chairman—Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, President, Federal Council of Churches—Dr. M. Ashby Jones, Chairman Commission Interracial Cooperation—Bishop George C. Clement, Chairman Commission on the Church and Race Relations.
George E. Haynes, Secretary, Commission on the Church and Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches.
Will W. Alexander, Director, Commission on Interracial Coöperation.
Mr. Max Hirsch, Chairman Executive Committee of Conference.
Prof. Monroe N. Work, Statistician of Conference.

Presiding: Bishop George C. Clement, Louisville, Ky.
7:30—Singing.
Opening Prayer: Rev. R. E. Scully, Goodwill M. E. Church.
7:45—Statement of Aims of the Conference.
8:00—Report on Committees.
8:15—Topic: *Publicity and Race Relations:*
Open Forum Discussion.
Mr. E. G. Routzahn, Director, Division of Publicity, Russell Sage Foundation, Chairman of Discussion Committee.
8:45—Address (During deliberation of Discussion Committee):
Mr. Arthur E. Hungerford, Publicity Director, Federal Council of Churches.
9:05—Report of Discussion Committee and Open Forum Discussion continued.
9:45—Adjournment.

THURSDAY, MARCH 26, 9:00 A. M.

Presiding: Miss M. Edith Campbell, Director of Vocation Bureau, Board of Education, Cincinnati.
Opening Prayer: Rev. W. H. Williams, President, Cincinnati Baptist Ministers' Conference.
Summary of preceding discussion.
9:10—Topic: *Health and Race Relations:*
Open Forum Discussion.
Mr. Franklin O. Nichols, Associate Educational Director, American Social Hygiene Association, Chairman, Discussion Committee.

10:00—Address: Dr. William H. Peters, Health Commissioner, Cincinnati.
(During deliberation of Discussion Committee.)
10:20—Report of Discussion Committee—Discussion Continued.
11:00—Topic: *Housing and Race Relations:*
Open Forum Discussion.
Mr. Forrester B. Washington, Executive Secretary, Armstrong Association, Philadelphia, Chairman of Discussion Committee.
11:35—Address:
Mr. Bleecker Marquette, Secretary, Cincinnati Better Housing League.
(During deliberation of Discussion Committee.)
11:55—Report of Discussion Committee—Discussion Continued.
12:35—Adjournment.

THURSDAY, MARCH 26, 2:00 P. M.

Presiding: Miss Mary Van Kleeck, Director, Division of Industrial Studies, Russell Sage Foundation.
Opening Prayer: Rev. B. F. Smith, Park St. M. E. Church.
2:00—Summary of preceding discussions.
Topic: *Growth of the Interracial Movement:*
Open Forum Discussion.
Dr. James Bond, Director, Kentucky Interracial Commission, Chairman of Discussion Committee.
1. Methods of Organization.
2. Policies: Local and National.
Leaders of Discussion: Miss Gladys Bryson, Miss Eva Bowles, Secretaries, National Board, Y. W. C. A., Dr. Will W. Alexander, Mr. P. C. Dix.
2:35—Address:
Dr. Herbert A. Miller, Professor of Sociology, Ohio State University, Columbus.
(During deliberation of Discussion Committee.)
3:05—Report of Discussion Committee—Discussion Continued.
3:45—Topic: *Social Agencies and Race Relations:*
Open Forum Discussion.
Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr., Secretary, Georgia Commission on Interracial Coöperation, Chairman of Discussion Committee.
4:15—Address:
Mr. James H. Robinson, Cincinnati, Ohio, Executive Secretary, Negro Civic Welfare Association, Department of Council of Social Agencies.
(During deliberation of Discussion Committee.)
4:35—Report of Discussion Committee—Discussion Continued.
5:15—Adjournment.

THURSDAY, MARCH 26, 7:00 P. M.

Presiding: Rev. W. T. Paterson, D.D., Moderator-elect, Presbytery of Cincinnati.
7:00—Opening Prayer: Rev. E. H. Oxley, St. Andrews Episcopal Church.
Summary of Preceding Discussion.
7:10—Topic: *The Church and Race Relations:*
Open Forum Discussion.
Mr. Judson J. McKim, Genl. Secy. Y. M. C. A., Cincinnati, Ohio.
7:40—Address:
Dr. Alva W. Taylor, Secretary, Board of Temperance and Social Welfare, Church of Christ (Disciples), Indianapolis, Ind.
(During deliberation of Discussion Committee.)
8:00—Report of Discussion Committee—Discussion Continued.

PUBLIC PLATFORM MEETING

(Arranged by Negro Civic Welfare Association, Dept. Council of Social Agencies, Cincinnati.)
Presiding: Mr. Philo C. Dix, State Secretary, Y. M. C. A. of Kentucky, Active Chairman, Kentucky Commission on Interracial Coöperation.
Singing.
Prayer: Rev. John F. Herget, Ninth Street Baptist Church.
Address: Dr. Alva W. Taylor, Indianapolis, Ind.
Music: "Pilgrim Chorus" from Tannhäuser (Wagner):
N. W. Ryder, Cincinnati Community Service.
Address: Dr. C. V. Roman, Lecturer on Public Health, Fisk University and Meharry Medical College.
Music: Selected.

FRIDAY, MARCH 27, 9:00 A. M.

Presiding: Bishop C. H. Phillips, Cleveland, Ohio.
Opening Prayer: Rev. S. E. Grannan, Mt. Zion M. E. Church.
9:15—Summary of Preceding Discussion.
9:25—Topic: *Industry and Race Relations:*
Open Forum Discussion.
Miss Mary Van Kleeck, Chairman of Discussion Committee.
Leaders of Discussion: Mrs. Elizabeth Elliott, Y. W. C. A., Cincinnati; Cyrus T. Greene, Westinghouse Electric Co., Pittsburg, Pa.
10:20—Address:
Mr. Forrester B. Washington, Executive Secretary, Armstrong Assn., Philadelphia, Pa.
(During deliberation of Discussion Committee.)
10:50—Report of Discussion Committee—Discussion Continued.
11:45—Business Session.
12:15—Adjournment.

FRIDAY, MARCH 27, 2:00 P. M.

Presiding: Dr. Gilbert H. Jones, Pres. Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio.
Opening Prayer.
2:00—Report of Preceding Discussion.
2:10—Topic: *The Courts and Race Relations:*
Open Forum Discussion.
2:45—Address: Judge John F. Hager, Ashland, Kentucky.
(During deliberation of Discussion Committee.)
3:05—Report of Discussion Committee—Discussion Continued.
3:30—Topic: *Schools and Colleges and Race Relations:*
Open Forum Discussion.
Earle E. Eubank, Professor Sociology, University of Cincinnati, Chairman of Discussion Committee.
4:00—Address:
President John Hope, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.
(During deliberation of Discussion Committee.)
4:20—Report of Discussion Committee—Discussion Continued.
5:00—Adjournment.

FRIDAY, MARCH 27, 7:30 P. M.

PUBLIC MASS MEETING

(Arranged by Cincinnati Federation of Churches.)
Presiding: Bishop George C. Clement.
Singing.
Prayer.

Address: Dr. Will W. Alexander, Director, Commission on Interracial Coöperation, Atlanta, Ga.

Address: Dr. George E. Haynes, Secretary, Commission on the Church and Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches, New York.

Singing.

Address: Dr. Sherwood Eddy, Secretary, National Council, Young Men's Christian Association.

Conference Committees

Executive Committee on Conference. Max Hirsch, Cincinnati, Ohio, *Chairman;* J. H. Robinson, Cincinnati, Ohio, Dr. H. P. Atkins, Cincinnati, Ohio, ex-officio; Bishop George C. Clement, Louisville, Ky.; Dr. George E. Haynes, New York City; Dr. W. W. Alexander, Atlanta, Ga.; W. P. Dabney, Cincinnati, Ohio; Miss M. Edith Campbell, Cincinnati, Ohio; Dr. R. P. McClain, Cincinnati, Ohio; Mrs. Guy Tawney, Cincinnati, Ohio; Jesse O. Thomas, Atlanta, Ga.

Church and Race Relations. Judson J. McKim, Cincinnati, Ohio, *Chairman;* Dr. A. M. Townsend, Nashville, Tenn.; Bishop W. J. Walls, Charlotte, N. C.; Rev. Charles N. Lathrop, New York City; Mrs. John Ferguson, New York City; Mrs. J. W. Downs, Nashville, Tenn.; Mrs. Charles A. Blinn, Cincinnati, Ohio; Rev. George M. Plaskett, Orange, N. J.

Housing and Race Relations. Forrester B. Washington, Philadelphia, Pa., *Chairman;* N. B. Allen, Columbus, Ohio; Harris Ginberg, Cincinnati, Ohio; J. B. Pius, Columbus, Ohio; Horace Sudduth, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Publicity and Race Relations. E. G. Routzahn, New York, *Chairman;* R. B. Eleazer, Atlanta, Ga.; Nahum D. Brascher, Chicago, Ill.; William N. Jones, Baltimore, Md.

Health and Race Relations. Franklin O. Nichols, New York, *Chairman;* Dr. H. E. Kleinschmidt, Toledo, Ohio; R. E. Beamon, Cincinnati, Ohio; R. E. Clarke, Cincinnati, Ohio; Dr. William H. Peters, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Schools and Colleges and Race Relations. Prof. Earle E. Eubank, Cincinnati, Ohio, *Chairman;* Jennie Porter, Cincinnati, Ohio; F. M. Russell, Cincinnati, Ohio; John A. Green, Dayton, Ohio; Sarah Neblett, Nashville, Tenn.; Blanche Dix, Evanston, Ill.; Ernest Ackley, Nashville, Tenn.; H. S. Manuel, Columbus, Ohio; R. W. McGranahan, Pittsburg, Pa.; H. T. Steeper, Des Moines, Iowa.

Industry and Race Relations. Miss Mary Van Kleek, New York, *Chairman;* Forrester B. Washington, Philadelphia, Pa.; Miss M. Edith Campbell, Cincinnati, Ohio; C. D. Barr, Birmingham, Ala.; John P. Frey, Cincinnati, Ohio; Mrs. Josephine M. Norcom, Cincinnati, Ohio; Cyrus T. Greene, Pittsburg, Pa.

Courts and Race Relations. Rev. Gilbert S. Cox, Columbus, Ohio, *Chairman*; Judge John F. Hager, Ashland, Ky.; A. Lee Beatty, Cincinnati, Ohio; Dr. Charles W. Burton, Chicago, Ill.; Alexander H. Martin, Cleveland, Ohio; D. H. Walker, Springfield, Ohio.

Social Agencies and Race Relations. T. J. Woofter, Jr., Atlanta, Ga., *Chairman;* Charles O. Lee, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. Lena Trent Gordon, Philadelphia, Pa.; George R. Arthur, Chicago, Ill.; John H. Chase, Youngstown, Ohio.

Growth of Interracial Movement. Dr. James Bond, Louisville, Ky., *Chairman;* Dr. Charles B. Swartz, Chicago, Ill.; S. Joe Brown, Des Moines, Iowa; George E. Haynes, New York City; W. W. Alexander, Atlanta, Ga.

Editorial Committee: Miss Mary Van Kleeck, *Chairman;* E. G. Routzahn, Forrester B. Washington, R. W. McGranahan, Will W. Alexander, W. J. Walls, George E. Haynes, B. F. McWilliams.

THE END

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National Interracial Conference,
1925.
AUTHOR
Toward interracial cooperation.

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Conference, 1925.
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